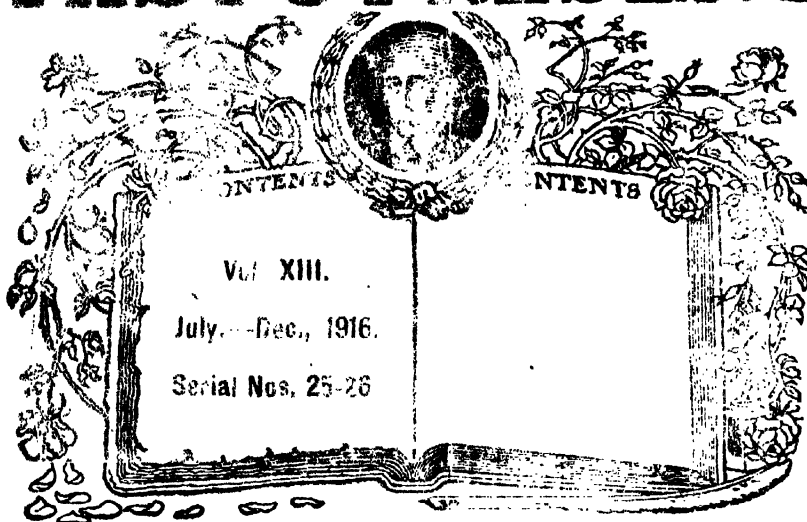


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FOR REFERENCE ONLY



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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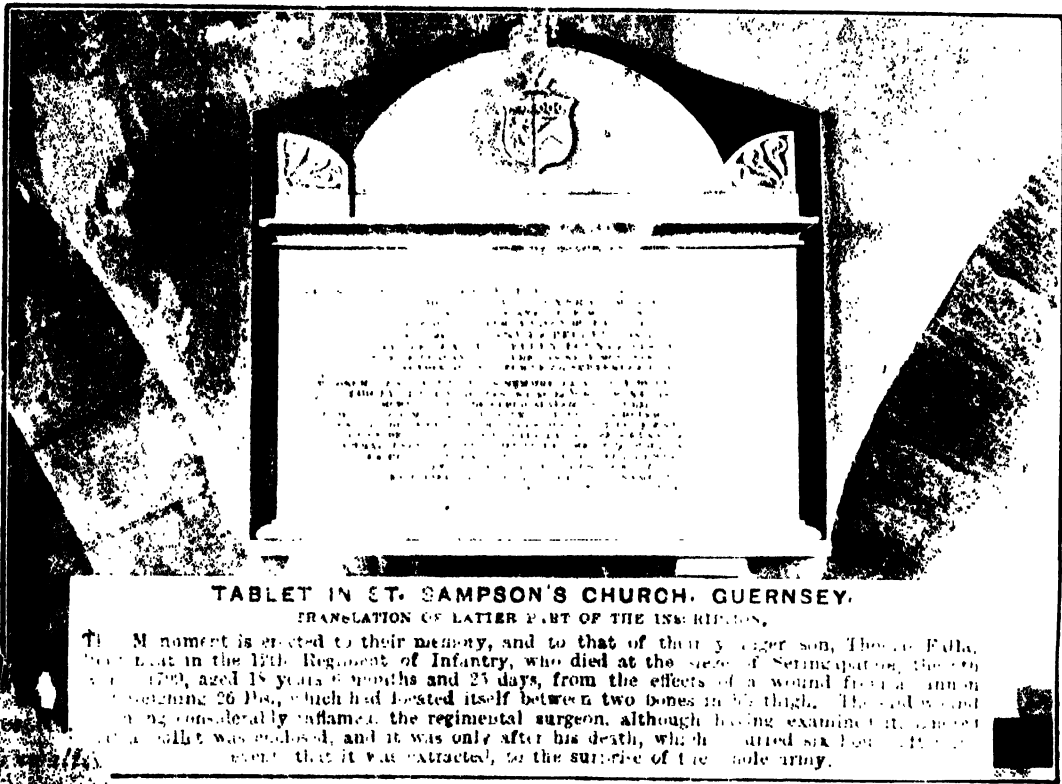
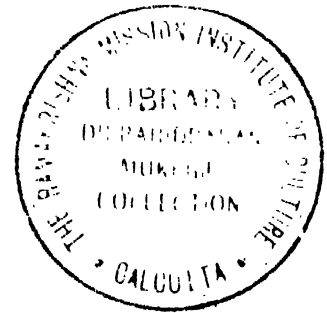
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BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT.



TABLET IN ST. SAMPSON'S CHURCH, GUERNSEY.

TRANSLATION OF LATTER PART OF THE INSCRIPTION.

The Monument is erected to their memory, and to that of their younger son, Thomas Fella, Sergeant in the 17th Regiment of Infantry, who died at the siege of Seringapatam, the 29th Jan. 1799, aged 18 years 6 months and 23 days, from the effects of a wound from a cannon ball weighing 26 lbs., which had lodged itself between two bones in his thigh. The said wound being considerably inflamed, the regimental surgeon, although having examined it, cannot find a bullet was enclosed, and it was only after his death, which occurred six hours after the event, that it was extracted, to the surprise of the whole army.

The Nesbitt Thompson Papers—1.

PREFACE.

THE Nesbitt Thompson Letters, selected from the great Hastings Collection of MSS. preserved at the British Museum, were copied some six years ago, at the cost of Col. John Shakespear, C. I. E., D. S. O., and by his generosity the copies have been placed at the disposal of the Calcutta Historical Society. The reader is referred to Sydney C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* for biographical information as to Nesbitt Thompson and many of the persons mentioned in the correspondence; the notes given in these pages can only be few and brief. The reader should also make use of the Index to *Bengal Past & Present*, Vols. i—viii and refer to *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. ix, pp. 71—74.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

No. 1.

CALCUTTA,

The 4th February 1785.

Dear Sir,

I am much concerned that the letters which will be delivered to you by Col. Gordon could not overtake the *Mansfield*; but am infinitely more so to find that Mrs. Hastings' picture could not obtain a passage on board that ship. This business rested with Mr. Larkins, his friend Capt. Fraser and Mr. Zophany;¹ to them therefore I shall leave the task of accounting for its unfortunate issue, and of reconciling you to your disappointment. I am contented to know that the picture is now under the care of Capt. Abercrombie who has undertaken to convey it to England on board the *Cornwallis*.

With so little means of accurate information, as I at present possess, it would ill become [me] to speak of public measures. I saw how grossly yours were misrepresented by many even of those who attempted the fair investigation of them, that I cannot but incline to silence as to the safest preservative against the Commission of a similar error. Such a silence too is peculiarly incumbent on me as in spite of all my efforts to entertain other sentiments, I cannot help regarding Mr. Macpherson² with those of

Warren
Hastings'
Papers.
—
British
Museum.
—
Add: MSS.
29, 163: 20

¹ For Zoffany's portrait, see Grier: *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 422, and the same authority for notices of William Larkins.

² John MacPherson succeeded Hastings as Governor-General see Grier, *Op. cit.* pp. 210 et seq.

unconquerable distrust, and Mr. Stables¹ with those of extreme contempt. In justice, however, to Mr. Macpherson, I must confess that, I believe he will for the present endeavour to advance the Company's interests as far as the narrow principles of his policy, and his very limited abilities will enable him, because it is on this conduct alone that he can build his future power of making them absolutely subservient to his own purposes. As far as this principle can operate I doubt not that he will be true to you; but from my soul I believe not a jot further. If you are induced to support him after your arrival in England for only half a year, all his purposes with respect to you will be answered, for, to use his favorite phrase, you will have committed yourself. He will then be at liberty to build his own reputation on the ruin of yours, and though he before failed in this attempt, partly because he undertook it too soon, you are now to recollect that you have quitted the field, and have consequently given to him advantages which he did not then possess. His reputation thus raised on this bad eminence will perhaps if any thing can confirm him in the Government; and when that is done, I am sure I need not tell you that, aided by the honest Councils of his upright cousin Fingal² he will know how to apply the ample resources with which his office will furnish him for perpetuating his possession of it. If you can have a doubt of this, I would refer you only to the advice which he presumed to give even to you, and to the letters which you have recd. from Mr. James Macpherson. All this reasoning may be, and I hope it is, erroneous, but it forces itself upon me with a conviction which I cannot resist. It may be said too perhaps that the friendship to which, I own, he apparently invites me, should restrain me from the use of such language; but I am not bound by a friendship which far from seeking, I would not even if it were sincere accept, for I know it would impose on me obligations incompatible with those more sacred ties by which I am bound to truth and you.

Though I am well aware you will not readily adopt apprehensions which I confess to be founded in prejudice, yet I hope you will not be so secure as to be unguarded against this representation. Maxwell and several other gentlemen of his family loudly boast of the immense savings made by Mr. Macpherson, and of their instant and wonderful effect upon the public cred. As an instance of the first, they say that in the care establishment of the Governor-General there has been an annual savings of at least 2 lacks and a half of rupees, generously and justly no doubt

¹ John Stables originally came to India in military employ. Appointed to succeed Francis as a Member of Council; took his seat Nov. 11th, 1782.

² Fingal, i.e., James McPherson, a colleague of Sir John. The alleged Translator of the Ossianic poems. See Grier, *Op. cit.*, p. 347, and article in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

reckoning upon the reduction of Polhill's Corps; and as an unanswerable proof of the latter, they alledge that the discount on the Treasury Orders have fallen from 14 to 6 and 1 per cent. The fact is true, but the reasoning from it is to the last degree fallacious. The fall of discount arises not from Mr. Macpherson's measures but from yours; from *your* retrenchments, and still more from *your* revisions for the sale of the opium. The payments are now due, and the paper consequently for making them is eagerly sought. As soon as the payments are completed the discount will rise again, and will continue to do so till the more slow but geneal and certain principle of economy which you imparted to the Government before you left it can fully operate. I understand that all the mighty savings of Mr. M— and all the great things which he has done are displayed in a statement made by Alexander Croftes* and Larkins deny any knowledge of it.

Many of your native friends continue to visit me. But none with more frequency nor from purer motives of friendship towards you than Bissumber Pundit. I did not like the man when you were here, but I am convinced I did him injustice. I never see him but that he talks of you with tears either of gratitude, regret or joy. When I told him of Mrs. Hastings' reception, the complete defeat of all your enemies, and the high honors which awaited you, he convinced me that his fatness had not reached his heart, for in its undissembled gladness he leaped almost as high as the ceiling and with the activity of an antelope.

The Mowlavy of the Muddrissa too calls on me much oftener than he did on yourself. He tells me that he visits me as he would your tomb, and, without intending it, makes me very proud. I regret only that I am at best but your *cenotaph*. An *empty* structure existing indeed to preserve our memory, but unblessed with the actual possession of that which gives the honor.

I send you letters from some of your native dependants which I hope little Jonathan will be at your elbow to translate. He is one of the very few then whom I am sorry I did not know sooner. I cannot, however, write to him, for between my attendance at Court, the disposal of your effects, and the necessity, I am under of instructing for the first time my own attorneys, I have less time to spare even than when you were here.

In your inner room, I found a little green square box, containing several bottles of ottah, all closed either with your seal or sands's. Presuming that you intended to have taken this box with you I have sent it by Capt. Abererombic, who will likewise have the charge of this letter, and is just going.

* Charles Croftes. See below "Leaves from the Editor's Note-book."

Whilst I have been writing Gunga Govind Sing has called on me in much consternation to tell me that Mr. Macpherson has for his own information referred the investigation of the charges against him to James Grant, the Philosopher, James Grant the—, and Wilkins. Of both the latter Gunga is much afraid. I am now going to discover the means if possible of comforting him.

With the utmost gratitude, esteem and attachment.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and most obedt. faithful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 2.

CALCUTTA,

The 9th February 1786.

Dear & Hon'd. Sir,

Add: MSS.
29, 168, f. 52.

It is now eight at night, and after a day of business in town, I was preparing to return to Alipoor with an intention of devoting to-morrow to the sacred purpose of writing to you, when I met White who told me that the packet would certainly close this evening. I regretted too sincerely that the *Kin, George* should sail without a letter from me to hazard a second disappointment of the same nature; I therefore got out of my buggy and am now writing in Wroughton's office. Your old white horse, upon whom length of years has made no other impression than that of robbing him of a few of his teeth, shook his ears in apparent disapprobation of the delay. He is a wonderfully fine old fellow, and is as active as ever. To have done with the subject of horses, I should tell you that beauty is no more. In addition to the cutaneous disorder which had afflicted him long before your departure and which neither medicine or regimen could remove he was lately attacked with a dreadful disorder in his side—an abscess formed from his flank to his shoulder and was so painful as to prevent his laying down for a fortnight. After a most anxious attention to him, and much consultation with Turner* and twenty others upon the subject, I formed the resolution of releasing him from all his pains at once. He was buried with funereal honors to the eastward of the high house and a tree planted over his grave. I dare yet indulge the hope that his honored mistress may one time or other set beneath its shade, and manifest something of her own excellencies by shedding a tear to the grateful remembrance of his. I never pass a morning at Alipoor

* Samuel Turner, the well known traveller in Tibet, commanded the Body-guard. See Hudson's *History of the Viceroy's Body-guard*.

without feeding Soleymaun and the grey buggy horse with bread—the former, if ever I return to England, shall certainly be my companion, however, old Trifling as this would appear to everybody else—to *you* and to *your Lady*, I don't apologize for a word of it.

Every event that has the smallest degree of relation to your timely resignation of this Government, proves the wisdom of the act. Your presence my dear Sir, like that of the sun to use an eastern simile is marked by the blessings it diffuses. In the late Resolutions of the Directors for the payment of their Indian debts in England, we trace with certainty the benign the saving influence of your Councils. It has saved the Company; for I do not hesitate to declare that public credit was here at its very last gasp. The first operation of that violent portion which the doctors had forced down its throat, and for the effects of which they were waiting with the confident composure of infallibility would have been convulsions and death. For not to question any one of the learned authorities, which might perhaps be quoted in favor of the prescription, the devil of it was, that the patient was too much exhausted to abide its operation.

All men saw except those who were blinded by the pride of speculation or by the quixotism of fancied patriotism, that the treasury was absolutely shut against all ranks of men except the army—and that against those too it would have been shut, but that they had swords in their hands. The rare and wonder-working expedient for increasing the value of paper, was simply to increase its quantity. They talked and only talked of paying off the *old* paper for they had not provided a rupee for the purpose—whilst the *new* was to be multiplied beyond all former example. It was to be forced upon people who had never before received it—upon old women shut up within the walls of a seraglio, who could not even give it the authentication which was necessary for its negotiation. I need not tell you how severely it would have operated upon the whole house of Jaffur Ally Khaun and all its numerous dependants. Paper in their hands would certainly not have been so negotiable as in the hands of others, and the receipt and transfer of it would beyond all description have multiplied the impositions to which they are already subject. The orders from the Court of Directors—if they are not permitted totally to abrogate the late Regulations of this Government, should at least produce some modification of them and chiefly in favor of the family at Moorshedabad. I have, however, no such hopes—for Macpherson boasts of the measure as a concealed, but effectual and permanent reduction of their stipends, and Larkins whether he possesses or not the wisdom and virtue of Cato certainly possesses all his inflexibility and obduracy.

To temper policy with humanity and justice to meliorate its profoundest

plans by a general spirit of benevolence requires an expanse of heart an extent of capacity that is the lot of few men. By most people here the subject of the enclosed letters from the Begum would be considered as totally unworthy of regard—they would perhaps be unintelligible. To *you* I send them in full conviction that the rights which they contend for will not be overlooked, and that you will be able to provide for their sacred observance without any injury to the interest of the public.

The public are disposed to consider and they should not be undeceived the late Resolutions of the Court of Directors as a fair tender to them of the payment of all their present debt. I know that in fact it is not so—for according to the proffered rate of exchange of 1s. 8d. the Current Rupee compared with ye usual rate of exchange of 2s. the Current Rupee one-sixth of the debt is actually withheld. I know too that the offer is otherwise fallacious, for that it cannot possibly operate to a greater amount than that of the *unremitted* property of Europeans, which certainly does not amount to nearly 6 crores.

But the natives are not injured, for most of them purchased the paper at 30 per cent. discount and they will now be able to sell it at 25 per cent. discount. Finding so advantageous a sale for Pt. of their paper they will set an additional value on the remainder, upheld by the confidence delusive or not, that the Company have fairly offered to pay their debts, and that they have not offered what they are not able to perform. This confidence so beneficial in its probable effects will be lasting if the Board modify their late regulations and make the usual issues from their Treasury; it will be totally destroyed if those issues are stopped, for madness itself can never think that the Company really possess the desire and the ability to pay their existing debts whilst by an act of severity and injustice they are contracting new ones. One of our Jurymen is again sick—I see no end to this cursed business except one of them should die or run away—one or other of which Gopee Nazir and his worthy Compeer will probably effect. For my sentiments of this business I refer you to the enclosed paper which I began in hopes that it might overtake the *King George*, and relinquished upon a friend coming in and assuring me that it could not. My sentiments are unaltered, though if I had now time to write upon the subject I should perhaps express them in more dispassionate terms—for a combination of events which you could not control has I fear condemned you to the support of Mr. M—.

Palmer is dissatisfied both with Mr. Macpherson and Harper. He once conceived the wish of making if possible a new Resident. The attempt was dangerous whilst such men as Petrie and Murray were on the spot to have filled the office. He has likewise endeavoured to engage the General

in the support of the Nabob in a visit to his country and in the general patronage of his interests and concerns. This the Governor has much dreaded. To oppose effectually the attempt he has I believe associated himself with Stewart—giving to him the sole management of the revenue of the Province, and reserving to himself the exclusive patronage of Oud and its Dependencies.

In an arrangement which had the benefit of Gordon for its principal object, and in which Davies insisted on and secured his own rights I who was happily placed between them both obtained promotion without a single effort. After an absence of nine months I went to thank Macpherson for this act of justice. He distressed me by the priority of audience with which he distinguished me, and by its length. He told me that he had invariably found in *your* friends stronger support and truer attachment than in his own. He detailed to me all the instances of firmness decision and plain dealing by which he had maintained himself in his Government since he first acceded to it—assuring me that it was by the sole influence of these manly qualities that he had defeated the arts and dangerous designs of Lord Macartney. He regretted with the benignity of a saint the wild attempts of that weak but well intentioned man Major Palmer*—who, says he, in opposing me opposes all the measures of Mr. Hastings—which at Lucknow in particular it has been my invariable object to maintain and pursue. He wished that I could put myself near the General and counteract the designs of those who would induce him to interfere in the affairs of Oud. I valued too much my own ease, independence and reputation to sacrifice them to the intrigues of any member of the present Government: from all of whom I purposely keep myself aloof—to you I communicate this conversation but to no one else—for I have never sought nor has any person a right to load me with a confidence, which may in the slightest degree diminish or counteract *that* with which you honored me and which it is my utmost happiness to possess. I have much more to say but have not time. It is absolutely necessary for the credit and happiness of G. G. Sing, that he should retire. We shall have much difficulty in effecting his discharge—for though they are not generous enough to give him proper encouragement and support, they too well know his worth to accept his resignation. They think him made of gold and are all unwilling to lose him before they have melted him. This design (I mean of his resignation) no other European I believe yet knows except myself. Remember me most gratefully to Mrs. Hastings.

Let him know that by John Palmer who went in the *King George I*

* *i.e.*, William Palmer. From 1777 to 1782, Military Secretary to the Governor. See Grier. Op. cit., p.p. 80-81.

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Let her know that by John Palmer who went in the *King George I*

* *i.e.*, William Palmer. From 1777 to 1782, Military Secretary to the Governor. See Grier. Op. cit., p.p. 80-81.

sent her a piece of worked muslin and some small pearls—and that by the *Eagle* Packet, I sent her another piece of worked muslin under the charge of Mr. Baxter, a shopkeeper.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Your faithful servant,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 3.

TO MRS. HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 25th February 1785.

Dear & Hond. Madam,

Add: MSS.
20,168, f. 119.

I received the favor of your letter, dated the 14th September 1784, about two hours ago. Your orders shall be most faithfully and zealously attended to. The moment, I received your letter, I sent for Munney Beegum's Vakeel, who has just now left me. I acquainted him with the orders I had received from you, and asked him to tell me honestly whether he believed that the Beegum would make good her engagements. He assured me that she would the moment her reduced salary was restored to her. We shall write to her to-morrow on the subject, and shall leave no steps unattempted to bring this business to a speedy and favorable conclusion. Much caution and secrecy, however, will be necessary in the conduct of it, not only from the difficulties which attend every negotiation with a person in her situation, but from the spirit of persecution and malicious enquiry which at present prevails throughout the settlement. A proof of which you will find in the letter which I have just now written to Mr. Hastings, and to which I take the liberty of referring you for want of time to write another on the same subject—the *Mansfield* is dispatched and I am apprehensive that this packet may not overtake her.

Mr. Hastings on his departure among the other proofs of his regard for me was pleased to honor me with the charge of all your favorites. He could not have conferred on me a trust which I should have accepted with more pride or pleasure. Believe me, dear Madam, I will endeavour to deserve it. For I do not know a lady in the world, to whom I owe so much gratitude, or for whom I have so great an esteem. I beg you will pardon the liberty I take in telling you so, and believe that I should not presume to speak so plainly were not the thickness of the whole globe between us. I request you will be so obliging as to make my compliments to Mrs. Motte, and with the utmost gratitude and respect.

I have the honor to be,
Dear Madam,
Your most obliged and most obedt. humble servant,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 4.

FORT WILLIAM,

The 25th February 1785.

Dear Sir,

The Companys packet containing Mr. Pitt's Bill and sent by way of Bussora was received about an hour ago from Bombay. There is a bare possibility that a letter may yet overtake the *Mansfield*, and in that hope I write. First, let me congratulate you, which I do from my soul, upon the re-establishment of Mrs. Hastings' health, and not only you but all my countrymen upon the estimation in which they hold her character; for surely such an act of justice is as honorable to them as to her. As to yourself, my dear Sir, it is with inexpressible pleasure I find that though all your friends in England wished you to stay here another year, they have taken no steps which could make it your duty to do so; and that you return to their undiminished esteem; and, I flatter myself, to the possession of those honors which cannot but be pleasing even to exalted minds when they are confessedly the reward of virtue.

Add: MSS.
29,168, f. 118.

To lessen the size of his packet Major Scott had sent Mrs Hastings' letter in sheets with no other cover than that which enclosed his own. Larkins and I have sealed it up, and (No. 1) return it. Seeing, however, a piece of muslin, we looked for the directions concerning it, and found them in the last sheet. We have taken a copy of them and of the instructions which immediately precede and follow it, and shall carefully attend to them all.

I wish I could with any degree of certainty explain to you the real motives or tendency of Mr. Macpherson's measures, since your departure. You perhaps foresaw them all—to me they were unexpected and surprizing; almost the first of his public acts was the reduction of half Turner's Corps, and the whole of Polhills. The first I thought was totally incompatible with the assurances which he had given to Turner, and the second with those which you had given to the Prince. The latter act indeed to my mind makes a mockery of all that's serious in the compacts and negotiations between state and state. Whilst Anderson was earnestly contending with Sindia on the part of our Government that the Prince should not proceed to the presence of his father unless attended by a particular corps, the Government itself almost forgetting that there was such a man as the Prince, without any previous intimation or provision, and as a matter of mere domestic regulation, annihilate the corps, and leave him disgraced and unprotected to the mercy of those who may be disposed to shew him any. Such is the light in which this measure appears to me unacquainted as

I am with those qualifications which may possibly have accompanied it. It is I am well aware attended with a considerable saving to the Company, and *that* I know will reconcile the just and liberal minds of our rulers to any act. It will make the reduction of Eaton's and Hogan's Corps exalted virtues.

Gunga Govind Sing has already become the object of persecution. The instigators of it are Nobkissen, Ram Chunder Sein, Suddeer-u-Dein, Ram Rutton, Gopee Nazir and others. One of the means to which they have had recourse for this purpose is the revival of the charges against Ghwolam Ashruff. This man you may recollect was apprehended about two years ago on a suspicion of forgery. In the course of his examination he attempted to criminate Praun Kishun, but failed. He was committed to the Fort for further trial, and lay there unnoticed till about the time of your departure. You then moved that he should be sent to Mohummud Reeza Khan, but the other members withheld their opinion and consequently nothing was done. It is now conceived that Ghwolam Ashruff may still be made the instrument of injuring Gunga Govind Sing, and in that hope his enemies have contrived to bring the business before the Board—the Board have referred it to Sir Jno. Day, and he is determined to recommend the prosecution of Ghwolam Ashruff in ye. Supreme Court—no doubt expecting that in the investigation of his guilt, that of Praun Kishun will be established. Mr. Stables rejoices heartily though secretly in his imagined triumph, and thinks he has the Dewan upon the hip. Macpherson, whose tongue drops honey upon this as upon every other occasion, has no heart, nor perhaps inclination to oppose the mischief. They are, however, all deceived. Gunga Govind Sing I am convinced has nothing to apprehend from the trial of Ghwolam Ashruff and it will redound to his own credit, and the confusion of his enemies. I have frequently conversed upon the subject with Mr. Hyde, who in the sincerity of his attachment to you, as in all his other acts proves the goodness of his character.

Cowper, I am glad to tell you, has conducted himself with great honor and moderation in the committee, and is upon principle the firmest of all Gunga Govind's friends. He says he found him in office and will maintain him in it, as long as he performs its duties.

I have not heard of or from Palmer since your departure.

I enclose you the copies of two letters from Jas. Anderson. The originals I delivered to Mr. Macpherson. I am not yet without my expectations that Sir Jno. Day may be prevailed on to alter his opinion with respect to the trial of Ghwolam Ashruff—for it is certainly not well grounded. The crime deserves punishment; but will not I am convinced receive it from any of the English laws now in force against forgery. Some of the Judges are even of opinion that the statutes do not extend to this country

—and if they do, there is in none of them to be found a description of the particular offence with which Ghwolam Ashruff stands charged. A trial therefore in your Supreme Court will liberate Ghwolam Ashruff who is guilty, and serve only to appall Praun Kishun who is free. Sir Jno. Day *ought* to advise the Board to order Col. Hampton to send the prisoner to your Fauzdarry, and to signify in the return to the Habeas Corpus that he has done so in obedience to the orders of the Board. This you know under the late act would be a full justification of Col. Hampton, and would obviate much future contention. I enclose you No. 5—a string of charges against Gunga Govind which has been delivered to Mr. Macpherson in the name of Ghwolam Ashruff. The Persian is supposed to have been written by Sudder-u-Dein, the English translation by Ram Rutton. It is an artful composition, and in the conclusion of several of it's periods puts me in mind of the Delenda est Carthago. Gunga Govind tells me with much pleasantry that Mr. Macpherson by way of comforting him desired him to be of good cheer—for that he should not be hung.

One of the aligator, pear trees is dead. The horses are all well; so are the birds, and Seleina. They contribute more than any thing that is now left in Bengal to my happiness—you may be sure therefore that I shall not neglect them.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and grateful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

Mrs. Motte's letter was received exactly as it is returned. Not a word of it has been read except the direction for that was sufficient to announce the writer and make it sacred.

No. 2.—No one here has seen except Larkins and myself.

No. 5.

ST. HELENA.

The 20th April 1785.

My dear Thompson,

I beg your honor of you to introduce the young gentleman who will be your bearer of this to my friends and yours;—to Mr. McPherson of course. He is the son of Mr. Bassett one of your principal inhabitants of this place, and Mr. Corneille at whose instance I give you this trouble, gives him an extraordinary good charge.

Yours affectionately,

W. HASTINGS.

Add: MSS
29,168, f. 266

The Massacre of Jiddah, 1727.

THE following documents belonging to the Orme Collection at the India, Office, Record Department, were copied for the late Dr. C. R. Wilson. As so many historical Bengal names are mentioned, I think the papers are worth placing on permanent record in *Bengal Past and Present*.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

No. 1.

September the 11th 1727.

The Relation given by the people of Ally Rajah's Ship who arrived at Cannanore this Evening in Forty two days from Juddah leaving it the 30th of July 1727.

On their arrivall at Juddah the 7th of Aprill, they found their Ship *Margarett* belonging to Robert Adams Esqr. and in Twenty days after arrived the *Prince George* from Bengall. The *Margarett* had done all her business the beginning of June, embarkt such Goods as were not Saleable and all the money, the Ship went a little way out and was in a readiness to Saile, Mr. Hill etca. on an Invitation from Messrs. Dalgleish and Frankland went ashore purposing to take their leave of them. At about Noon, the time of dining there run a Report that two Lascarrs had been Murdered on board the Ships, and were found Floating: another such like Occasion had been Spread some days before of our killing the Lascarrs, and on Complaint made to the Governour and Codgee, they said they wanted proof to do Justice, and when the aforesaid Lascarrs were carried to the Codgee*, the Governour sent to him to examine Strictly how this hapned, and let him know what ought to done, the former therefore sent for all the Gentlemen, who being at Dinner did not go, and a person told the Codgee they Slighted the Message and Refused coming to him. Of this he gave immediate Notice to the Governour declaring (as his Opinion) that death deserved death and orders were directly given to Execute it, which the Turks did in the most Cruel manner on the Gentlemen as they were altogether in the House of Capt. Dalgleish to the Number of Six or Seven Whites and two black, plundering all they found. Benjamin Adams concealed himself for about two hours, and then run naked into the Streets, where a Turk stopt him, gave him his own Coat, and Sent him on board the Ship; The Governour of

* i.e., the Kazi—Judge.

Juddah after committing these Barbaritys and having secured the Ships with three or four hundred Turks, gave Notice thereof to the Principall Man at Mecha, who repaired forthwith to the Governour blamed his proceedings; And it appearing that about Forty thousand Dollars had been taken from the House, he ordered full Restitution to be made, an account taken in the Presence of three Surat Nocquedah's,† with Ally Rajah's the Governour's people and some of the Merchants from the shore, and then delivered every thing in full to the persons of each Ship respectively taking Receipts of their having the whole and then withdrew the Turks after being aboard eight days, but forbid our people to Stirr 'till the Grand Seignieur's pleasure was known to whom he had wrote for orders.

The money of each Ship was kept on board and the Chests sealed by the Governour's people; 'Tis Said the *Prince George* had about one Hundred and eighty thousand Dollars, and the *Margarett* Eighty thousand Do. exclusive of some Goods not disposed of. The Lascarrs went all away, so that the *Prince George* has not above Thirty Men, and the *Margarett* Sixteen. A Small time after, a Long boat from the latter being observed to Sound the Port, the Governour Suspecting they might attempt going away, brought all their Sails ashore to prevent them, and forbid any boats going to each other, but they might go ashore and come off as they pleased.

Mahmud Ally on his return from the Hodgee endeavoured to gett the Ships released, but the principall Man from Mecha, assured him, he could not answer it as he had wrote to the Grand Seignieur, nor indeed was he certain (as the principall men were destroyed) if those remaining had Skill or honesty enough to Carry them to their Owners, and if they miscarried the blame would be laid on him, and for which he might be Lyable to Suffer Death. The above is the best Account we could gett having no Letters from any of our people at Juddah: 'tis probable, it may not be exact in every Circumstance, but the Tradgicall part We think cannot be doubted.

No. 2.

September the 13th 1727.

The Serwan of Ally Rajahs Juddah Ship coming here gives the following relation of what hapned to the Ships *Prince George* and *Margarett*, and of the Murdering the Gentlemen belonging thereto, Vizt.

That the Barbarity was Committed on Tuesday the 6th June about noon, by the Mobb and Seriffs people that was in the Town of Juddah without orders of any one, for the Codgee having Sent for the Engiish, and they Refusing to come at his Summons, he was heard to Say what shall I do with

† Nakedars—customs officials.

these people, who kill and do as they please, and will not come to me when sent for; upon which they Run to the House, and told our people they must either turn their Religion or dye, and then begun their Cruelty; of which the Bashaw or Governour having Notice, came in person to the House, Dispersed the Mobb and ordered people on board to take Care of the Ships, and published orders that every thing should be restored, or he would punish those who should detain and accordingly did chastize Severall and intended to have sent the Ships away, but the Seriff of Mecha came within eight or Ten days, who has half the Customs of the Port and advised the Bashaw not to Suffer the Ships to Sail till they had both wrote the Grand Seignieur, to know his pleasure he not having Power to Stop or release at his Will, without hazarding his head, and 'twas reported the Bashaw intended to write the Governours of Bombay and Bengall of what had hapned, that they might appoint proper people to receive the Ships.

No. 3.

Copy of a Letter Superscribed at Mocha. Copy of a letter to Constanti-
nople to be opened by the English Gentlemen.

Honoble Sir,

I was employed by licence of the Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indias, as Master of the Ship *Margarett* belonging to Robert Adams Esqr Chief of Tellicherry for the East India Company and Mr. Thomas Hill supra cargo to this port of Juddah, We arrived here the 10th of March with a proper Cargo from Bengall for this place, We were very well received by the Bashaw and Zeriff and Merchants and all encouragement of Trade granted us we could expect, at our first coming here, We took a House for the more Conveniency of our Affairs, where we lived without any Molestation, all the time our being here and untill all our Goods were disposed off to our Sattisfaction, And by the first Instant most of our Treasure was on board and every thing ready to Saile, Mr. Hill sent every thing on board from his own House and Stayed with Messrs. Frankland and Dalglish Supra Cargoes of the *Prince George* at their Lodgings, where unfortunately on the 6th Instant Mr. Thomas Hill Supra Cargo Mr. William Morcom Purser and Edmund Moriarty Gunner all belonging to Ship *Margarett* were murdered by the Mobb, as to the particulars as I was on board I refer your Lordship to Mr. Fullerton who was present when the Misfortune hapned and Miraculously escaped with life, when the Accident hapned Mr. Hill had by him about Ten thousand Juddah Dollars in Venetian Gold which was all carried away by the Mobb, but by the good conduct and diligence of Bekir Bashaw of this place have recovered and received about half what was lost, and the Bashaw assures

me he'll recover what is wanting and Dispatch the Ship in all due time to serve her passage to the Mallabar Coast, The Insurrection was so sudden that the Murder was comitted before the Bashaw had the least Notice of it, and I believe was not in his power to prevent it, the whole Affair was Transacted and over in less than half an hour, and by all his proceedings I have reason to believe the Bashaw was Very Sorry for what hapned.....I am now to acquaint your Lordship the reason the Mobb pretend for their proceedings, first of all 'tis necessary to know, that the Ships in India belonging to the English are maned with the Natives, Some Moors and Some Portugeze Christians (the Officers always Europeans) the whole complement of Men belonging to the *Margarett* was about Eighty five, Fifty of which were Moors with a proper Officer, who always behaved themselves Very well aboard, and we used them Civilly, after our Arrivall here they hapned to be Sickly and at different times five or six of them died & as they were Musselmen the rest buried them after their own manner and being Strangers and not acquainted with the place, instead of Carrying them ashore (as usual) Buried them upon Small Islands which are sometimes overflown, & as I suppose their graves not being Very deep, the Water washed away the Sand & discovered some of the Dead bodies to the Fishermen that came that way, they imediately went ashore and Noised it about Town, that the English murdered the Musselmen on board their Ships, and sent them ashore on desolate Islands where they lay unburied, Complaint was made to the Bashaw, who told them he would enquire about it, and accordingly sent for the Moor Officers and some other people aboard who told them that all the Musselmen on board the *Margarett* had always been used Very well, and that the people who were Dead died a Naturall death, and that they were buried with all the Ceremony they were Masters of, and as well as the Nature of the Ground would permitt, the Bashaw told them if any died on board for the future they Must send them ashore to be buried.

It hapned that the day Mr. Hill designed to come on board in order to sail, in the morning one of the Moor men died, and According to the Bashaws order we sent him ashore to be buried, as soon as the Corps was landed the Mobb got about it and every man ready to give his Judgement, some said his neck was broke others his Legs and Arms, others that his Eyes were put out & in generall all agreed that he was murdered, away they carry the dead body to the Bashaw for Justice, and not receiving a Sattisfactory answer, nothing would serve them but their own revenge, and so they began the Massacre as beforementioned, this is matter of Fact and all I know of the Affair, which I thought to acquaint your Lordship of.

JUDDAH,
June the 22nd 1727.

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I am with the greatest respect
Your Lordships most obedient Humble Servant,
CHA: GRAY.

No. 4.

Translate of a letter from Abu Beeker Bashaw of Juddah Addressed to the English Chief at Mocha.

Sir,

I write this Letter to inform you what has hapned to the English at my port of Juddah, which the like was never before, in Mr. Hill's Ship they killed one of their Lascarrs who was a Musselman and their Servant and burnt out his Eyes, and brought him ashore into the City, not being affraid of the Government, or ashamed of the Action, (Such things are not Suffered among Musselmen, and by their own fault were the Occation of the Misfortune which followed and no ways proceeded from me) which, when the Musselmen saw they rose up in Arms without my Consent or knowledge, for they were not my Soldiers but the Mobb, and went to the Houses of the Captains of both Ships and killed them, Mr. Frankland and a Purser, and Carried away what Goods they found in their Houses, as Soon as I heard of it, I sent my Officers to take care of them, but before they came, the Mobb had taken almost everything away & Killed the people all in less than half an hour. What Goods and money were Stolen away I will take Care to get back again, like-wise the ready money which was Sixty one Thousant Dollars some Gold, Baftas* and other Goods which I have with Mr Fullerton the Purser taken an Account of, I have recovered a great deal and there is but little remaining, I will take Care that nothing is lost, the goods and money that I have recovered had delivered to Captain Grey and Mr Fullerton Purser to Captain Dalgleish, but afterwards thought proper to keep them at my own house being apprehensive they were not Safe at the English House, and shall keep them till I hear from you to deliver them to your Attorney I desire you will favour me with an Answer.

JUDDAH,

June the 22nd 1727.

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I am &c.,

CHA : GRAY.

No. 5.

Mr. Dickenson's answer to the foregoing.

I received your Letter, and 'tis with a great deal of Sorrow and Concern that I read the Tradgicall Account you give of the Murder of so many English Gentlemen at your Port in so Barbarous and Cruel manner, to whom on their Arrivall you promised Protection, being at the time when both our Nations are at Peace and Amity, no man alive can ever believe the truth of what you assert for your peoples committing this cruel Action, I am sure the English are never guilty of such barbaritys as you mention in your Letter but admitting they were, they would never be so foolhardy as to send them

* A kind of Calico.

ashore in the Musselman Country to be exposed to Publick View, Tis Certain that what your Soldiers alledge, and the Excuse you make for it, has not the least Glimpse of Probability, It must have been a premeditated thing contrived by some treacherous and ill designing Men who Sett the people on to do an unheard of Piece of Villany, your own Letter confesses that the pretence was only on Mr. Hill's Ship, what reason could they give for murdering Captain Dalgleish, Mr. Frankland &c. they were people of Fashion and great Men, that deserved not such treatment at the Grand Seigniors Port, and though you return their Effects what Sattisfaction can you make for the lives of so many Men, I shall take care to lett the King of Great Brittain be informed of this Barbarous Massacre, he I doubt not will find a means to get Sattisfaction for the loss of so many of his Subjects, I received with yours a Letter from Captain Gray of Mr. Hill's Ship with a Relation of the whole affair, he does not lay the blame on you but says it was done in so sudden a manner that he believes you know nothing of it, 'till it was over, I therefore hope you will do us Justice and find out the Murderers that they may receive the punishment according to the heinousness of their Crime, I hope before this you have recovered all their Effects, and will take Care that nothing is lost which [I] desire you to deliver to Captain Gray and Mr. Fullerton, who I know to be Very good Men and I appoint them Attorneys to receive every thing that belongs to the Ships, and who I expect you will protect from further insults and take Care to see them and all their Effects Safely on board, and permitt the Ships to come away as soon as you receive this that they may Save the Monsoon and not loose their passage by being detained too long.

MOCHA,

July the 11th 1727.

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I am &c.,

FRAS. DICKINSON.

No. 6.

An Account of the Massacre of Mr. Thomas Hill, Mr. Robert Frankland &c., at Juddah in June or July, 1727. By Mr. Bonnell at Surat.

Some of the Lascarrs belonging to Mr. Adam's Ship *Margarett* his Brother Mr. Thomas Hill being Supra Cargoe, and Captain Gray Commander asked leave of Mr. Hill to stay and go to Hodgi : he having finished his affairs, and near Sailing from thence denyed them ; on which they complained to the Bashaw, who enquiring the Cause thereof Sent them on board ship again Mr. Hill refusing to let them stay.

Out of the said Ship Severall of the Lascarrs dyed and the Serang buried them on the Small Sand on the road, which when [it] was known

Occasioned a Rumour that the Captain had beat them, of which they dyed, and buried them there to keep it private, complaint thereof was made to the Bashaw, who sent for the Serang and asked him way he buried the Lascarr there, and not on the shore, he replied they were poor, and could not be at the charge to bury them ashore, however, the Bashaw ordered, if any more dyed he should bring them ashore and bury them.

On the day Mr. Hill intended to go on board and Saile one of his Lascarrs dyed, and they carryed him ashore to bury him, when the Corps was landed, the Mobb rose, and said the English had Murdered him, and they lifted up the Sheet that Covered the Corps and said He had been beat on the head, then they carryed the Corps to the Bashaw's house complaining that the English had killed him, the Bashaw made enquiry into the matter, and found that their Complaint was false and groundless, but instead of calmly and mildly reproving the Mobb was very angry with them, and drove them away from him in a Passion, this enraged the Mobb who took up the Dead Corps, resolving to carry it to Mr. Hill who was at Mr. Frankland's House at dinner taking his leave, intending after dinner to go on board and Saile, as the Mobb carryed the Corps along, they mett Severall of the Soldiers, that come down to guard the Roads, that the Merchants might not be molested by the Buadoos (alias wild Arabs Robbers) who asked what was the matter the mobb replied the Englishmen had killed a Musselman of which they complained to the Bashaw who rejected their Complaint, and took the part of the English Coffeers against them, this so incensed the Soldiers, that they in great numbers Joyned the Mobb imediately and went along with them with the Corps to Mr. Frankland's house. Mr. Frankland, Mr. Hill &ca. Gentlemen being at dinner heard a great Noise at the door to know the meaning of such a disturbance as they opened the door the Mobb rushed in and killed the two Gentlemen at the door, and ran up stairs and fell upon the rest of Gentlemen Mr. Frankland jumped down and in the fall broke his thigh, then they imediately killed him, they also killed Captain Dalgleish and four or five more, but Mr. Fullerton and the Linguister hid themselves, and escaped, Mr. Hill was not killed outright, but was wounded in many places, Surviving two or three days after the Massacre was over the Soldiers Mobb &ca. plundered the house, and took away all the money Goods &ca. in an Instant.

As soon as the Bashaw heard thereof he sent out his guards to seize all those that had robbed and plundered the house, he took up about Two hundred persons and imprisoned them, and made them deliver back what they stole from the English, Severall of them being obstinate and refusing to refund, the Bashaw ordered them to be pinched with hot Irons which forced them to Conply, by this means he recovered most of the Goods, and

money. Twenty five or Thirty bags money were wanting which the Bashaw declared he would make good.

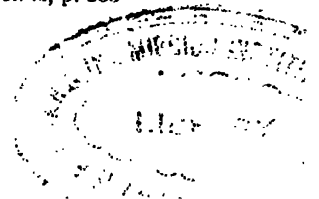
After the uproar was over the Bashaw sent on board both Ships and ordered their Sails to be carried ashore, and what goods and money was in each ship, he ordered to be locked up Secure in the Ships, and his, and his Officers Seals, were put on the Locks also all the money and Goods, that the Bashaw recovered he put into the Secure Warehouse sealed with his and his Officer's seals, declaring he could not answer the delivery of the money and Goods to any of the Gentlemen serving at Juddah the Chief Merchants being killed, he declared to Mr. Fullerton that whomsoever the President of Bengall, and Mr. Adams Chief of Tellicherry shall order to receive the money and goods remaining their order punctually be Complied with.

Mr. Hill being three days expiring under his wounds Benjamin Adams son to Mr. Robert Adams Chief of Tellicherry went ashore to See Mr. Hill, brother in Law to Mr. Adams at which time Several Turks and the Linguist being present Mr. Thomas Hill declared that the Ship *Margarett* and Stock wholly belonged to Mr. Robert Adams and Benjamin Adams was his Son, and he was only Servant to said Mr. Robert Adams, this was to prevent any further disputes which might happen. The Bashaw sent for the Zeriff of Mecha about a days Journey from Juddah; when he was come down, he sent for the Codgee and the Officers of the place, and when they were all mett in publick Councill they sent for the Craunny or Purser of the *Prince George*, when he came before them with the Linguister, they told him he must make his complaint to them, that they may write to the Grand Seigniour.

Accordingly he did declare that the Supra Cargoe, Captain and four or five more English men belonging to the *Prince George* (with Ship and Cargoe appertaining to President Frankland* &ca. Gentlemen at Bengall) and Mr. Thomas Hill Supra Cargo of the *Margarett* (which Ship and stock belonged to Mr. Robert Adams Chief of Tellicherry) were Barberously murdered by the Inhabitants of Juddah, but why or wherefore he could not tell, and he demanded Satisfaction, on the parts and behalfe of the Owners thereof not only on account the persons murdered, but also for what money and Goods were plundered and stolen from them out of their dwelling house, then the Codgee not only declared, but gave it in writing that it was contrary to their Law to detain any of the money or Goods belonging to the English, so unjustly taken from them, and ought all to be restored them again. They also sent for the Serang of the *Margarett*, then they asked the Cranny† (Mr. Fullerton) if the Lascarr was

* For a Biographical note on Henry Frankland, see *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. ix, p. 288 et seq.

† A Clerk. See *Hobson Jobson*, Art "Cranny."



killed by the English (the word in their language signifys to kill or beat) he replied the people of the place Reported so, but the report was False, then they asked the Serang the same question but being a Musselman, and not understanding their language well, and the word having a double Signification said yes, after which they drew up a writing in the publick Councill and made Cranny and Serang sign it being what they declared before the Bashaw &ca. which writing with the Codgee's declaration and the Letter from the Bashaw and the Zeriff of Mecha and the Codgee &ca. the Bashaw sent express to the Grand Seignieur's, expecting orders to make full restitution, at which time, he has declared, hee'l make Satisfaction for what money wanting.

The Bashaw permits the Cranny and Linguister to go up and down together in what debts may be standing out ; and as the money comes in, 'its Carryed to the Bashaw who seals it up with the rest, he has given them a House to live in, and ordered Guards at the water side to see they are not molested coming on board Ship and returning ashore again.

What Occasioned the death of so many Lascarrs belonging to the *Margarett* was by a great Fish they caught which they killed and eat, and as many as eat of it Dyed.

But the Lascarr that dyed the same day Mr. Hill &ca, were murdered had fallen into the Hold of the Ship which had bruised his head very much, which caused the people to say he had been beaten and killed by the English, for the bruises in the Lascarrs head the Mobb perceived when they lifted up the sheet that Covered the Corps as they were coming to bury him.

No. 7.

MR. JOHN FULLERTON'S RELATION.

To the Honble Henry Frankland Esqr &ca. Owners of Ship *King George*.
Honble Sir and Sirs.

I am heartily sorry to advise you of the Mellancholy Accident that befell us here on June the 6th. Mr. Hill having compleated his business on the 5th and sent his Houshold necessarys on board, desired to stay at our house that night, with which our Gentlemen unfortunately Complied, for (there being a great Mortality among the Moors in his Ship) the populace were apprehensive of their being Maltreated or Murdered, to appease that rumour the Bashaw desired him next day to send aboard for a Corpse which he heard was then in the Ship, which was accordingly brought ashore in Order to Sattisfy the Populace, but alas ! it had a quite Contrary Effect than what was expected by him or us, for as soon as the Corpse was put ashore there was immediately a great Concourse of people about it, and

some said that his neck had been broke, others that red hott Irons had been run into his Eyes and many such ridiculous expressions and immediately took up the Corpse carried it to the Palace and showed it to the Bashaw, He reprimanded them severely (particularly some Janizaries that were there) and bid them be quiet and he would send for some Moormen out of Ship *Margarett* of whom he would enquire the Nature of this man's death, but this did not in the least appease them they immediately leaving him came into Town and called out a Musselman killed without reason by Fringis or Christians, and one and all took up their Arms especially the Janizaries who seemed the great Incendiares and immediately went to the House in which Mr. Hill had lived but finding he was gone thence they immediately came in a Tumultuous manner to our house so that about two P. M. Dinner being just ended the Partakers whereof were Messrs. Robert Frankland, Alexander Dalgleish, Thos. Hill, William Morcom, Richard Barnoby and John Fullerton, we were alarmed with a Noise uncommon, in the Stairs upon which We run to the windows and saw a Confluence of people approaching our great Gates with Fricanns and naked Swords, which very much Surprizes us as we knew of no previous provocation, we immediately sent down our Linguist to enquire into the affair, whom they insulted by pulling off his Turbant, and at last fired upon him so that he immediately fled to an adjacent house where he was protected. This sight did not a little deject us, we then called to our Soldiers to Secure the Gates, but as we could put no great Confidence in their integrity nor in the strength of our Gates we Concluded upon every persons making his Escape in the best manner he could and accordingly so soon as we heard the gates burst open We immediately took to flight, some got on tops of the houses others jumped down into adjacent Compounds but in spite of all our endeavours so quick was their assault that most of us were killed, some were shott on Tops of Houses, others mangled and Cutt to pieces in the most inhumane manner, constantly upraiding us as Christians, in fine so Cruel and so quick was the Massacre, that in less than the space of half an hour from the first Assault the above named Gentlemen were out right kill'd save Mr. Hill who was most cruelly mangled and dyed in two days after, and myself whom it pleased God in the most miraculous manner to preserve at this time tho' I was within Ten yards of Mr. Hill during the whole Scene of this bloody treatment.

There was three Portugeeze people belonging to us killed at this time also, and an European Gunner of the *Margarett*, this bloody Scene was only the Prelude to their Subsequent Villany for they immediately broke open and ransack'd our Screwtore Chests of Apparell &c Carried off all our treasure broke open our Godowns and Carried away all the Goods that

remained unsold, nay left nothing in the House, so that there was nothing but a Scene of the greatest Devastation.

The Sum of Cash carried away was in Spanish Dollers 61988½ belonging to the owners and private Adventurers of Ship *Prince George* besides 10,000 Spanish Dollers loss of the Linguist's, which he gave in apart Goods lost belonging to owners and private adventurers 33 bales besides some Wax, Sugar &c. altogether amounting upwords of 30,000 Dollers Juddah or 13681½ Spanish Dollars and all our wearing Apparell and money in Scrutores.

But to return to the Melancholy Scene about 5 P. M. when the Mobb was dispersed I got out of a window in the place where I lay Concealed and gott into our house where I lay Concealed till the Kehaia arrived whose protection I claimed and was with him carried in a most miserable Condition to the fort (having no Cloths to shift) I was dispatched by the Bashaw on board ship with an order to detain [the] Ship and promises of the utmost retaliation (notwithstanding of which if [the] Ship had not been so locked in, I should have been in Suspence how to have acted, but our present Circumstances and future hopes made us Comply) and for fear of the Mobb taking boats and annoying the ships they sent aboard some soldiers, which some days after at our request they took away.

Upon my getting aboard, I called up the Officers and let them know the miserable Accident that happen'd ashore and then called up all the people and ordered them (in the Owners name) to pay the same respect and Obedience to Mr. Thos. Cross now Captain of the *Prince George*, as they had before to Captain Dalgleish with which they readily Complied.

On the 8th came aboard the Kehaia Vizier &c., who enquired what quantity of money was aboard, I replied 50,000 Spanish Dollars which they desired to see, and weighed of some bags to see if they were according to report, which they ordered again to be Stowed away, and then examined other Chests to see if any Treasure was Concealed, but there was none, they afterwards called up the Officers and people and enquired of them to whom the Succession was Customary in case of such an Accident as happened, they replied to the Comander of the Ship Mr. Thomas Cross, and to the Charge of the Merchandize me, accordingly we were carried before the Bashaw that night after which Captain Cross went on board, and I to our house, where my new Station Satt but very heavily upon me, being alone ashore without either Assistance to Adjust Accounts or give Advice, on the 9th I was Sent for early to the fort, and desired forthwith to give an Account of money and Goods lost, to which I replied that all papers and and Books were carried away and Consequently I could give but a Lane Account till I found them, wherefore I begged leave to see some papers

which they had Sealed up, and carried out of our house to the Fort the first night that the Accident happened, which they promised to do, but to my great trouble could find neither Mr. Frankland's Journal nor Leidger among them nor any thing to give me any light into our Affairs besides a Waste Book in which I kept an Account of Goods delivered and their prices, I begged of the Bashaw a later time and from that old Book would endeavour to make new Books and give an Account of all goods brought hither what Goods Sold to whom what paid Customs and what remained in our Godowns when this Accident hapned which I accordingly accomplished and delivered next day (being willing to forfeit Sleep rather than their displeasure at this Juncture) the Cozie (or Chief Justice) with the Bashaw's and Zeriph's Writers took down all the particulars in the presence of the Kehaia and Vizier, I was then ordered by the Bashaw to look out for another house there being some Mahometan Inscriptions on the Gateway, they thought it not proper we should stay there.

About the 15th Mr. Fullerton's books came to Sight which I compared with mine, and found Very little Occasion for Alteration in mine, but Severall things Sold that day had not been Sett down in his and some Cash that day received of which the Shroff gave an Account, they had tore out all the leaves out of the Leidger, and I believe they had never come to light had they not found that I could do without them.

The Zeriph having come down from Mecha there was a grand Council Satt on our affair on the 18th at the Fort, where were present the Zeriph and Bashaw the Mufti's and Cozi's of Mecha and of this place the Generall of the Janizaries and the most noted Merchants: about nine in the morning I was sent for to the Fort, and they desired I would write for Captains Cross and Gray which I accordingly did and about eleven we were all called in, after Ceremonys were over the Bashaw and Zeriph declared their great Concern for the late Accident, and said it was owing entirely to the unruly Mobb, and appealed to us if ever they had given us any reason to Suspect their being Concerned, We replied in the Negative, and that before this we had found the utmost Civillity and kind usage which gave us encouragement to return again to this Fort. The Zeriph desired of me now a particular Account of our Losses which I then gave in as abovementioned which he ordered then to be minuted down, but left out our Linguists he having mentioned it apart.

I thought it now a proper time to shew your Instructions in which you are pleased to nominate me to Succeed in Case of the Death of the Other Gentlemen to obviate any Cavills about want of power to take Charge of your Effects (which they once gave out) and at the same time shewed the Ship's Pass with the Bashaw's and Zeriph's Letters for our Protection which

I hope they would comply with, and desired leave to depart with our Ship and what money we had, that we might not loose our Monsoon, they dismiss'd us after giving us Coats in Confirmation of our new Stations with promise of particular Care of our persons and a full Restitution of our money and Goods, and that they would dispatch us in good time.

On the 21st finding there was no Signs of our dispatches I went to a great Confident of the Zeriph's and talked with him of the unreasonableness of detaining our Ships, who hinted to me, that they were diffident of my power to receive the money and Ship, and that they were affraid there never would come another Ship belonging to the English here again, to which I answered and desired he would Acquaint the Zeriph of it (that provided they dispatch the Ship and what money we could gett) I would stay behind, and was so confident of the Owners confirming my power and Sending another Ship that I would Submit my Self to their pleasure here next year in case of non-compliance from Bengall.

On the 22d I went to the Bashaw and made some overtures and earnestly begged the dispatch of the Ships, how farr these Great Men have Complied with their promises publickly made to us on the 18th you'l Judge when I acquaint you that on the 30th we were sent for per Bashaw who told us he would have dispatched us before, but not having as yet got in all our money he did not care to Lett us go away dissatisfyed, he therefore begged our Patience, 'till his return from Hodge, and desired that the Captains would order their Sails ashore, and then he should be Satisfied of our being easy 'till he came back again and in a publick Assembly of the noted Merchants of this place, and the Surat Nocquedah's, he assured us upon his Honour that he would Dispatch us with the Surat Ships, but I then gave him to understand, that we had a greater distance to run than they, the Monsoon Very much elapsed and Charges Very great, and in Case we could not go away in the proper Monsoon Neither Risque nor Charge could be on the Owners but on him, However on June the 31st he went to Mecha and we have not had one Message from him Since tho' Eight days are elapsed since the Moormen had their Dispatches but detain'd by Contrary winds.

When I tell you of our Long boat's being kept ashore and all our Moormen, and neither Store of Wood nor Water aboard I presume it will in some Measure atone for Sending for the Sails, that we might have a grant for carrying off daily Sustenance for them aboard.

I now advise you of what retaliation has been made, I have received in Cash according to the weight the Kehaia was pleased to give me which is two per Cent less (of which I made mention when weighing but to no purpose) and giving a great many German Crowns by weight which ought

to be taken by Talee, I say received 37287½ Spanish Dollers, and in Goods received to the amount of 15631½ Juddah Dollers which at 220 per Cent is 7105½ Spanish Dollers so that remains in Cash and Goods still in the Government's hands about 68160 Juddah Dollers or 30982 Spanish Dollers the whole amount of Sales publick and private is about 371000 Juddah Dollers of which Demands must be made and will appear by my Books in case of Death besides 13818 Juddah Dollers in Goods with the Government not included in the Sales.

At present I cannot make any Certain Conjecture of the Conclusion of our Affairs for we are here detained ashore (Vizt. Captain Cross and self) and our money, we are not permitted to send on board, our expences great and how long our persons may be safe we know not so that the only remedy we can find is patience for the present and dependance on God's Providence and your Friendship for the Future.

On the 22d June at the Importunity of the Bashaw I Made bold to write to the English Ambassador at Constantinople, giving a Generall account of the Accident and our Losses, but not in the least thinking of our Ships being detained the year, did not request his Interest for our dispatches, but so precarious is the delivery of Letters that (most being intercepted by them) I know not whether that will reach him, on the 25th June I wrote to Moullah Mahmud Ally to Mecha, (and at the same time spoke to the Surat Norquedah's and Merchants in Town for their Interest when they went to Hodge) and begged his Interest with Zeriph and Bashaw for our dispatch, and related to him our Innocency and how willing I was to come into any reasonable Measures for departure of [the] Ship, which he soon afterwards advising me that he had used his Interest but to no purpose. on July the 25th Arrived Moullay Mahmud Ally and Surat Norquedahs who told me each of them that they had used their Interest but to no purpose wherefore I humbly beg that no Severe measures may be taken with them while we remaine here which the Natives are much affraid of, how farr Innocent I hope time will make appear, On August 4th arrived Kehaina from Mecha on whom we waited : after the ordinary Complements passed I told them, I was much Surprized at the Bashaw's Silence and the Monsoon being now elapsed I Concluded that it was by his order we were detained here and Consequently the Risque and Charge of Ships and Estates was entirely upon him, to which he faintly Replyed that he believed the Bashaw had wrote to Constantinople, that he would detain Ships and Money 'till he had Advices from thence, I told him that the Bashaw must be Conscious of what he had done that way before he went hence, and if so, I was Surprized at his giving his promise before the publick assembly of our departures in the Monsoon.

I am Sorry after so long a detail of Melancholy Circumstances to let you know that had we been dispatch'd here in good time (and sold our Rice at Mocha which we intended and which is now aboard) our Voyage would not much have exceeded Principall, our Gruff * Goods Selling at very low rates, such as Sugar, Chittigong Bafftaes, Cowpitch and Rice, here now Valued at 5 Juddah Dollers pr Aidr [?] which is near two and a Quarter Baggs.

In two Months from this time an answer is expected from Constantinople, and how things may be ordered then I know not, but the Common report is we shall then be dispatch'd and full reparation made, but some still talk of their doubting my power to carry away your Effects and ship, and that they want a further order from you, which if you think proper to grant me, it must be in the most ample manner to receive Goods Money and Ship, and must be wrote also in Arabs with a Chop † of a Moor Cozie and three other Moor witnesses and Directed to any persons whom it may Concern, it being uncertain whether this Bashaw may not be removed, I hope you'll please also to send a new Pass for the Ship, we shall also want some Tarr and Oyl and Rice for Lascarrs.

I have consulted with some private people and our Linguist about the best method I could write as to future proceedings (which humbly submit to your better Judgements) their advice was that a small Ship be Sent here with a proper Cargo (of which I give a List herewith from the Account I had of the sales at the Hodge) and that you advise the Zeriph and Bashaw in your Letters to them (for I believe it would be proper to write to both) that you have sent such a Ship consigned to whom you shall think proper but on Terms that she shall not come into the Harbour, nor unload 'till such time as the *Prince George* is cleared out of the Harbour With her Treasure and people, and 'twill be proper She be Navigated with some Europeans and all the others Christians, the Moors Constantly leaving us here and giving us much trouble, this appears the most probable method of getting clear with our Ship and Effects in the easiest manner at this Juncture, it will flatter them with the hopes of our Continuing the Trade, (which they are affraid of loosing) and hope it may be done with Safety as well as a Very Considerable Proffitt, for our Ship riding without will be an entire check upon them for fear of annoying the Ships bound out or into this Harbour which they are much affraid of, If this Overture be agreeable to you please to dispatch the Ship as early as possible and (if possibly I can) I shall send Letters to Mocha to give advices, or if she should meet us at Mocha the Same Cargo will answer there for if we have leave to go, upon news from Constantinople, we will use our utmost endeavours to gett to Mocha as soon as possible in order to Sell our Rice which I hope will much help out the Voyage ;

* Probably Dutch word *graff*,=Coarse.

† Seal.

By the above Account of Goods lost you see that the greatest part of our Cargo was sold before the Gentlemens Death, Since which time I have made up all Accounts with the Merchants [and] given them a discharge as they required.

Already have received from the Government Cash amounting to
Juddah Dollers 70500

And there is further due from Merchants (which is payable in a day or two) Spanish Dollers being so scarce before the Hodge could not pay me then except in Gold on which great Loss ... 3150 besides the Debts due by the Government which I am to receive as above ; your accounts I have adjusted and would have sent your Accot. Sales and Account Current but could not find a Conveyance for by writing of this, and folding of it you may Conjecture the difficulty of getting a Letter Conveyed nay I am even in Suspense now I have wrote it, whether it may ever reach your hands, but I heartily pray it may, however my books I keep up and keep also Mr. Franklands so that by Comparing you will see perfectly into your affairs.

What was a Considerable Loss an your Voyage was that Mr. Hill had agreed on the Exchange of money before our Arrival Vizt 220 Juddah Dollers for 100 Spanish Dollers which was last year 212½ and again is ordered to be so by the Zeriph and Bashaw for the ensuing year.

Whether you shall see fitt to allow me Share of the Commission for the above Services and what I shall further do I entirely referr to your Honour &ca. Owners Generosity.

I shall not further trespass upon your Time and Patience but Conclude assuring you of the discharge of my trust with the utmost Diligence and Fidelity and am with the greatest Respect,

Honble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient Humble Servant,

JUDDAH,

August the 8th 1727.

JOHN FULLERTON.

P. S. Captain Cross behaves himself with much Prudence in his own department and the management of his people all being Very quiet on board ; Ship *Margarett* is detained here also with her Treasure about to the amount of 45000 Spanish Dollers.

No. 8.

The Worshipfull John Courtney, Esqr., Chief of Surat, his Relation of the Massacre at Juddah, Dated September the 21st 1727.

The Massacre of your poor Brother Hill and the rest of the unfortunate Gentlemen at Juddah, gave me in particular (and I dare believe every English

man) a deep Concern, you will assuredly receive Account thereof from Mr. King, But this day I had from a Slave of Abdul Raman Isaac of this place who is the Manager of his Master's Affairs the following Account he being an Eye Witness, that after the Massacre your Brother Mr. Hill was found alive and in his Senses, and things being by the Bashaw restored to good order Mr. Hill sent for your Son Benjamin ashore and told the people that the Ship, money and goods belonged to that young man's father who was the English Chief at Tellicherry : in about three days Mr. Hill dyed and Benjamin went aboard again, after which the Bashaw having by punishment recovered most of the money and Goods ashore it was all housed and the seals of the Bashaw Codge and Mufti put on the bales, which they likewise did on board Ship after having Secured all there ; then the Bashaw wrote a relation of the whole affair to the Port of Constantinople and when an answer comes from thence this man and every one else says the Ships and all the Goods will be delivered up to the Principall or to the order of the Governour of Bombay of which I have wrote Governour Phipps this day. I must add that the Bashaw for fear the Ship should sail away before he received an answer sent aboard and brought away all their sails.

No. 9.

To Mr. Edward Carteret and Captain Charles Boddam Supra Cargoes of the *Walpole*.

Gentlemen,

We having for Severall weighty and Substantiall reasons thought it not only proper but absolutely necessary to send the *Walpole* with the *Dolphin* Brigantine to attend her to the port of Juddah in order to demand Restitution of Ships *Prince George* and *Margarett* with their Money and Effects so unjustly hitherto detained there, by the Bashaw notwithstanding his most Solemn and publick assurances given and repeated in open manner to Mr. Fullerton and Mr Cross) do hereby appoint and nominate you to go as our Representatives to Juddah and to be the Managers of this weighty affair and We dont in the least doubt but you will be very punctual in the observance of our orders, and Very Diligent and Careful in all your Actions, still making this your generall rule, to preferr Peace and Amity to all Acts of Hostility, and to do nothing but what you reilly think is for the Benefit and advantage of your Employers.

We therefore now order you to repair on board said Ship *Walpole* and wind and Weather permitting to make the best of your way to the Mallabarr Coast, where you are to take in what water Provisions &ca you shall Judge necessary for your intended Voyage.

We would have you call in at Tellicherry for as Robert Adams Esqr. is chief Owner of the *Margarett* which Ship is also detained at Juddah, on the same Account as the *Prince George*. so it is very necessary you should consult and advise with him in respect to said Ship *Margarett*, We are of Opinion that he will very readily enter into his Proportion of the Expences of this Expedition, especially since the advantages of it was likely to be so great, as this is a matter of Consequence, so whatsoever Agreement you come to with Mr. Adams ought to be Signed and Sealed and whatsoever orders you receive from him ought to be given under his own handwriting, and for the better Security let them be sealed also.

Having finished your business at Tellicherry you are to proceed directly for Mocha, where we hope you will receive advices and Letters from Mr. Fullerton and Mr. Cross giving Account how matters stand at Juddah, you must have a due regard to whatsoever Intelligence you may receive from those Gentlemen or others belonging to either the *Prince George* or *Margarett* and take care to govern your Selves accordingly.

As the Chief of Mocha last year obliged all Merchants and others who were any wise indebted to the Gentlemen on that Side of India, to make full Satisfaction by a just discharge of their said Debts, to Mr. Cowan who was sent with some Gallies on purpose to demand the same; so we now order you on your Arrival there, to acquaint all the Merchants who are indebted to the Gentlemen on this side India, that you come with the same power to Demand Payment of their Debts and the same Resolution to gett it, and in Case they do not either pay their Debts, or give Sufficient good Security, We do hereby order and empower you to make Reprizalls and to distress the Port of Mocha as much as you can, and in Case of any resistance you are to repell Force by Force.

We must desire you to make all possible dispatch from every place you touch at, for it is Vastly for the common Interest that you arrive early at Juddah, On your arrivall there, We do order that you come to an Anchor without the Harbour, in any Safe Convenient place, such as you shall Judge most proper for the easier Stopping up the Port, and Commanding all their Vessells in case of Necessity, It is Very probable that as soon as the *Prince George* and *Margarett* people see you come to an Anchor, they will if permitted come on board you which we wish they may, since the receiving any Intelligence there will be a good guide for your future Conduct, In case they are not allowed to come near you we would have you send ashore your boat with one of your Passengers to learn how matters go, and to acquaint the Bashaw of your Arrivall, and that you design to send your Linguist ashore the next day to waite on him with our Letter which will Satisfie him that you are sent on a friendly and peaceable Design and only to

Demand Restitution of our Ships with all their Masts rigging and Appurtenances, as well as all our Money and Effects and Satisfaction for the Loss we must have Sustained in this unjust detention of them, you are to Demand payment of all debts due by any of the Merchants there to either the owners of *Prince George* or *Margarett*, or to the Private Traders, and we do hereby Strictly charge and Command you (as you will answer the Contrary to your perill) not to enter the Harbour of Juddah 'till the *Prince George* and *Margarett* are restored with all their money and Effects, and are safe in your Possession, And we do hereby order you not to Land one Piece of Goods, or to suffer directly or indirectly one piece to be landed there at Juddah, 'till the Bashaw has made full and ample Satisfaction and Restitution.

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You are to acquaint the Bashaw and Government there that these are your possitive and express Orders, and that you durst not in any point swerve from them, but be the Consequence what it will are Strictly obliged to follow our Commands, you are further to acquaint him if he thinks proper to comply with our Request, to deliver up our Ships, to restore our money and Effects, and to make us Satisfaction for our Losses in having our Ships, and money so long kept from us, that then you have Orders to enter the Harbour of Juddah and to Land your Goods, He first giving security for the Protection of your persons and our Estates, you are to represent that as you come in a Friendly Manner and with a good design and do no more than Demand what is our undoubted right, so you cannot imagine but he will Very readily deliver every thing up, and make us all possible Satisfaction

You are also to represent that as the Barbarous and Inhumane Murther of our Friends, Tho' it was Contrary to his Approbation and done without his knowledge, yet as he has it in his power to make examples of the Ringleaders of that guilty Mob, so you expect that some of them should be executed to Sattisfie the Injured, and to Terrifie their own people from ever committing the same Peice of Villany again, that in Case the Bashaw pretends he has no power to execute that you then insist on his Joyning with you and granting you his Interest to procure an Order from the Grand Seignieur for their Execution as such exemplary Justice on the guilty is due to the Injured, and is for the Generall good of all Mankind, so we cannot think he will Judge our demand unreasonable or in the least oppose it, for unless such Severe methods were taken with Such Barbarous Villains there could be no Trade nor Society nor any living among one another, If Englishmen are to be first Murthered at their Port of Juddah and then plundered, and those Concerned in the Villany go unpunished and no Restitution is made, they can never expect that we shall ever send a Ship thither for the future.

Having hitherto had orders only to acquaint the Bashaw with the Peaceable part of your Instructions; We come now to order you to let him know that in Case of his Refusall to do us Justice and to deliver up our Ships and Effects you are then Commanded to stop up the Harbour of Juddah, not to Suffer any Ships or Vessells to Trade thither, to make Reprizals on all that you can take, and in short to make use of all acts of Hostillity, and this you are not only to advise him of, but to put in Execution, and by Virtue of the Commission you have received from us, you are Empowered to Declare Warr against them and to use all Hostile means to Force them to compliance, and to recover our rights, to kill, burn, and destroy all that do oppose you.

We have hired the Ship *Walpole* of the Honble English East India Company for this Expedition as we are obliged by Charter party to dispatch her home on December or January 1728/9 so you must on no Account whatever detain her out any longer than the Monsoon for the Arriving back here in good time will permitt, as we have before ordered you to Stop up the Harbour of Juddah in Case of the Bashaw refusing to make any Sattisfaction or Restitution So it is now proper to Limitt those orders and acquaint you that you are not to remain before the Harbour of Juddah longer than the first of August, since if you do, you may endanger the timely return hither, you are in Such case to proceed directly for Mocha and there leave Mr. Edward Cartaret Ensign Coult Mr. Griffith and Twenty Soldiers in order to Sell and protect our Estates, which you are there to land, and then dispatch away the *Walpole* for Bengall, We do repeat our possitive order that you on no Account land a Bale at Juddah unless Sattisfaction and restitution is made, and in case you should break these our Orders, We do hereby protest against both of you, both in our own behalfs and in behalf of the former Owners of *Prince George* and *Margarett*, And do declare if you hold any Commerce (in either buying or Selling of any Goods) with the Port of Juddah (they having made us no Restitution nor Sattisfaction) that you in such case shall be liable as farr as you are able to make good the Losses and Damage Sustained by the Owners of the *Prince George* and *Margarett*.

Having agreed with the Owners of the *Nancy* that their Ship shall not proceed to Juddah nor indirectly send any of their Cargo thither, We do hereby order that in Consideration thereof you land no Goods going up to Mocha which would be a great Detriment to their Voyage, and oblige them to look out for another market which would certainly Occasion their coming to Juddah, and that would be a no less prejudice to your Cargo, We do therefore hereby forbid you landing any Goods at Mocha as you call there on your way to Juddah.

The Accompanying Pacquets to Mr. Fullerton and Mr. Cross pray deliver and in case of their death (which God forbid) We would have you

open the said Pacquets and take Care and Charge of the Ship *Prince George* with the Cargoe and Effects appointing what captain Officers &ca you shall think necessary following such Orders as are given to Messieurs Fullerton & Cross. We wish you a good Voyage and Success in your affairs and are

FORT WILLIAM, <i>The 29th December 1727.</i>	}	Sirs, Your Loving Friends and Humble Servants, Hen. Frankland Richd. Bouchier Hugh Barker John Bonkett Thos. Coales John Hinde.
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Narrative of a Journey, etc.—I.

THE journal here published was purchased by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., who was fortunate enough to pick it up by chance at an old bookshop in Norwich. I hope that before the second and concluding instalment goes to the press I shall have succeeded in discovering the name of the author. It was suggested to me that abridgment might be made, but it seemed to me to abridge would be to rob the journal of the colour of the author's mind and the mental fashion of his times. One passage—a very foolish passage about Indian women—I have suppressed. I do not doubt that the writer was honestly convinced that the view expressed in this passage represented the truth; but I would do him the justice of supposing that the idea of its being put into print by a person who did not share his conviction would have caused him shame.

The account of the Holwell Monument is interesting. A picture of the monument as it stood some time between 1790—1803 appeared in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XI, and the railing and shrubs are in evidence. Fraser's view (published in 1824) shows the monument without the railings. The reader will remember that the monument was broken down in 1821 by orders of the Marquess of Hastings.

Extracts
of a
Journal
of a
Voyage
to the
East Indies
and return to
England,
Annis Domini 1817 and
1818,
in a
Merchant
Ship
of the
H. E. I. C.

The author has inserted a map of Bengal, engraved by Kirkwood and Son of Edinburgh, "projected by C. A. 1810."

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

TO MY BELOVED AND RESPECTED SISTER ANNE:—

It is for your perusal, that I have made from my Note book, such selections as are comprized in the following manuscript. Our opportunities of personal intercourse are, unhappily, few : and I am consequently obliged to write, what would, however, require no great portion of time to speak. When I believe that you have taken a lively interest in my movements, since we parted, I am sure I do not flatter myself. Of those movements I can give but a simple detail—higher pretensions this sketch does not make. Information literary and scientific, political and religious, of the countries of the East, lies before the world in ample store ; you, I am sure, from your habits of reading and reflection, have embraced and digested it. And did these resources of intellectual gratification not exist, you would look for it to me in vain. With my hurry of embarkation you are well acquainted : that but a few previous hours I had no such intention—that I had never peculiarly directed my thoughts, my reading, or my studies, to subjects of eastern curiosity—that after my appointment I had no opportunity to obtain preparatory information either from conversation or books—that my official situation precluded my attainment of that local knowledge, which, even thus circumstanced, I might otherwise have had : in fine, that I was destitute of all the means requisite to the improvement of travel. Be therefore, my dear Sister, content with a mere route—with what might nearly as well have been afforded by a dotted line upon a chart.

Whilst, however, I have brought back nothing that can augment the knowledge of others—no feasts for their imagination, and no accessions to physical science—my experience has deeply engraven on my own mind certain aphorisms of the science of morals, of which the theoretical impression was delible, and impotent. I have learnt that human nature is every where the same in essence—modified, it is true, by external circumstances, but modified alone—that whether it be contemplated under the character of the landsman, or the sailor, the European, or the Hindoo—it presents the same disgusting picture of vice and folly, the same lamentable complexion of woe. I do not mean to deny that to refinement, to virtue, and to happiness, some situations are not more favorable than others—nor that such facilities have been embraced, in all countries and conditions, in a ratio proportionate to their existence. I believe the contrary, and it is the faith of experience.

But I mean to say, that he, who weary and oppressed by the view of the dark foreground of moral life, seeks in the distance for repose and relief, will seek them in vain. Of Hindoo simplicity, faith and purity, much has been said and written—whence originated such reports, I know not—whether from ignorance or duplicity—from a want of penetration beneath the surface of unassuming and courteous manners, or from the impious wish to restrain

the introduction of Christianity into that benighted empire, by a representation that it would be superfluous. Perhaps, my dear Sister, you may affirm that my opportunities of intercourse and observation were too few, and too short to warrant me in a depreciation of Hindoo morals. Such as they were I have stated—and be it remembered, that although my residence was almost, exclusively in the ship, yet, that during a residence even there of six months, some opportunity must be given of an inspection of native manners. Remember also that for upwards of a year I have been placed in the society of men, who have made repeated voyages to the country, and from whom I have never received irreconcilable accounts.

I have learnt likewise the futility of attempts to shake off our misery by change of place. Perhaps for this expression you would substitute a softer—the vanity of seeking happiness by change of place. But this I deem less applicable, since it is not the desire of somewhat they would gain, so much as the escape from somewhat they already have, that prompts the varied movements of mankind. It is the sentiment of the philosophic and pious Pascal, that the same motive drives the Hunter to the tumults of the chase, and the General to the turbulence of war, a wish to rid him of himself. He whose mind is ill at ease in one country, why should he expect repose in another?

It was an observation of Horace, that such a man might indeed change his climate, but that he would carry with him the same unhappy mind—of the truth of which the history of an eminent modern Poet affords an illustration, thus beautifully described by himself.

Sated at home, of wife and children tired,
The restless soul is driven abroad to roam,
Sated abroad, all seen but nought admired.
The restless soul is driven to wander home,

Of the cause of this universal restlessness, this pursuit of extraneous objects, this shifting of the scenery of life, you, my dear Sister, are not ignorant. It is a lesson taught you by that divine philosophy, whose coruscations have obscured by their effulgence all the systems that preceded it, and all that have essayed to twinkle since. That philosophy has alone been able to solve the most mysterious problems of moral phenomena.

Nor is it less evident, that of this epidemic malady as you know the origin, you have learnt also the cure. This is demonstrated by your profoundly passive resignation to that inscrutable decree of Providence, by which, for so long a period, you have been fettered to the couch of sickness. Physically incapable of yielding to the dictates of that restless spirit, which stimulates, yet tantalizes others, you have found in your chamber, what eludes the research of others, who cross seas, and clime mountains, and visit

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cities, to obtain it. May you retain it still; and when it shall please Almighty God to restore to you the use of your corporeal powers, may you still on them be independent for felicity, till you reach that sublimer mode of existence, in which, like the pleasures of time, the enjoyment of space will vanish before the "fullness of joy" and the sight of God!!!

Your affectionate,

ROBERT.

JOURNAL.

1817. Wednesday, March 12, at half past two P.M., I received, in Norwich information of a vacancy for an Assistant Surgeon on board, the Hon. Company's ship *The Princess Charlotte of Wales*. The ship had already dropped down the Thames on her way to the Downs. At four P.M. I left Norwich in the mailcoach, and reached London the following morn at seven. Having obtained an introduction to the managing owner of the ship, received my instructions at the India House, and passed a medical examination, I received permission to join the ship directly.

March 14: At two o'clock A.M. I left London with the Purser, who was charged with the dispatches for India, and reached Deal about two P.M.

Thus, in the space of about forty-eight hours from my reception of the intelligence, I found myself on the beach at Deal, and the ship at anchor about two miles distant: having travelled about two hundred miles to reach her. This short period, so passed, allowed me preparation, neither of articles of convenience, nor of sufficient money, nor the attainment of literary, or scientific information of the regions I was about to visit. This circumstance, upon a review of the space I have traversed, and the time I have spent, serves to palliate the regret to endure of the little addition made to my knowledge or my wisdom.

I embarked instantly. The dispatches arrived, and the wind favorable, preparations were made to weigh anchor, all was activity, and noise. As I was unprepared for an Indian Voyage, I obtained leave to land, to procure some linen articles, in addition to a few I had procured in London.

At midnight the anchor was weighed. The sky moonless, but clear and starry—the wind light, and from the east and the sea smooth. All hands, sailors and soldiers, were employed. These last consisted of detachment of H. M. 30, 34 and 87th regiments of Infantry. The capsan was turned to the quickened tones of the fife.

Vainly, this night, I endeavoured to sleep. The noise, the novelty of the scenes of the day, allowed me not a wink. I rose repeatedly and paced the

Saturday, March 15. The latitude by observation to-day is $50^{\circ} 49''$ N. Thermometer 49° . Barometer $30^{\circ} 28''$. Sunday March 16. Lat.— $50^{\circ} 18''$ N. Monday, March 17 : Lat. $49^{\circ} 34''$ N. Barom. $30^{\circ} 28''$. Thermom. 49° . I find that there is no provision for the sick on board, except drugs. The soldiers are berthed in the dark and ill ventilated regions of the lower or orlop deck. Such as are sick are surrounded by their noisy comrades deprived to a great degree of light, of air and of the means of cleanliness, so indispensable to the preservation, much more to the recovery of health. The diseases, at present, are chiefly suffered by the soldiers, and consist mostly of certain dysenteric symptoms, accompanied by inflammatory affections of the chest.

Can there be a helpless human being in a more deplorable plight than what is exemplified in the sick wretches confined in the orlop Deck ?

March 18. Lat. $49^{\circ} 21''$ N.

March 24. Lat. $36^{\circ} 46''$ N. Longitude $16^{\circ} 33''$ W. Thermom. 57° . Barom. $30^{\circ} 20''$. Hitherto, almost without exception, the wind has favored us. Whilst off the Bay of Biscay, we experienced that rolling of the ship, which is constantly felt in this part, and which brought the sea sickness upon many. From my own sensations, which amounted but to extreme nausea, I infer that the best method of preventing it, besides regularity of the alvine functions, is employment of mind, either about official duties, or on pleasant subjects, foreign to the surrounding scene ; and that the best method of conquering it, is a recumbent posture. I found, that if I were actively engaged, my nausea was suspended—and that an increase was caused by gloomy thoughts excited by the remembrance of absent friends, and country. or the probability of disaster—and that if the nausea were exaggerated to almost vomiting, this effect was anticipated immediately by a horizontal position.

A glass of spirits and water is an excellent remedy, and every precaution must be used to prevent vomiting, since there exists, in some persons, great difficulty to repress its violence.

A ship, so circumstanced, presents a scene exquisitely adapted to the taste and pencil of Hogarth. The rolling, if great, requires, every moveable in the vessel to be lashed. At dinner the dishes slide down, now on one side, now on the other, and the attitudes of the party, some securing their plates, others baptized by gravy, some tantalized in vain attempts to put their glasses to their mouths, and others falling back, chairs and all, are truly grotesque. Unhabituated to the sea, I could gain no refreshing rest during the continuance of this weather. The noise of the seamen, the roaring of the waves and the wind, and the actual shipping of water through the crevices of the port holes, kept me restless and watchful by night. The effects of the sea sickness lasted many days upon some of the soldiers' wives.

There were no accidents, from the severity of the weather, except to one

man, who was employed, with another, in furling the foretopgallant sail. The opposite end of the yard to that on which these men were supported, was suddenly tilted up. One of the men was fortunately intangled by his left leg in the ropes of the yard, and hung suspended, with his head downward. His companion was precipitated, and having traversed a considerable space, caught hold of some rigging and thus anticipated destruction. The brave fellow instantly recognized the frightful attitude of his comrade, and without a moment's delay, ascended, and helped [to] lower the yard till he was extricated.

A contusion of this man's leg detained him long on the sick list. Thursday, March 27. Lat. $30^{\circ} 13''$ N. Long. $21^{\circ} 27''$ W. Thermom. 65° . Barom. $30^{\circ} 08''$. The Latitudes we now traverse afford an atmosphere of incomparable softness. The air is not sultry, nor does one feel heated, but after exercise. It is such as to make us forget we are surrounded by it. A breath of air, now and then fanning us, serves to remind us of a physical existence. This day a boy was discovered on board, who had followed the soldiers of the 87th Regt. These had fed and concealed him from the observation of the ship's officers in the obscurity of the orlop Deck. He came from near Colchester, and having, he said, no relations acted thus to escape a workhouse.

My imagination has not yet become reconciled to the scenes around—and did I listen to it alone, to the neglect of my judgment, I should never be free from very unenviable feelings.

From the nightly visions of fancy, and of England, I awake to the oaths and clamors of seamen and of soldiers—to the dashing of waves, and to a sense of suffocation in a cabin just large enough to allow the cots of a messmate and myself to swing. It is our mess, sitting, and bedroom. March 28. Lat. $27^{\circ} 55''$ N. Long. $22^{\circ} 44''$ W. Thermom. 64° .

To-day fresh beef killed in England, was cooked for the last time. Sunday, April 13. We are a few minutes ($59''$) north of the line, Long. $23^{\circ} 1''$ W. Barom. $30^{\circ} 5''$. Thermom. 80° . The heat is extreme. But there is a difference in the sensation of heat and perspiration produced in these equable temperatures, from that arising in varying climates. In these the air so much cooler than the body produces a chilly feeling. The diseases, at present, are caused or much modified by the nature of the climate; such as Languor, debility, loss of appetite, dysenteric symptoms, owing probably, in some measure, to rash exposure of the body perspiring profusely, to currents of air.

A shark was caught two days since. I believe, from an inspection of the jawbones dissected out of their situation, that this fish can very

much increase the capacity of his mouth by bringing his upper and under jaws into the same plane, forming by their rim a complete circle. The teeth are saw like, and moveable.

May 3. Lat. $26^{\circ}52''$ S. Long. $33^{\circ}45''$ W. Barom. $30^{\circ}3''$ Thermom. 73° . The usual farce was performed by the seamen at our crossing the equator. One personates Neptune; one his barber; others his satellites, or constables. The troops and passengers were protected by the Skipper from the ceremony—it is this. The votary of the God, if I may so speak, is led blindfold by his minions, disguised grotesquely, to the gangway. On his approach, he is assailed from all sides by water bucketted on him—he is seated on a plank traversing the mouth of a large tub full of water—he is interrogated by Neptune, shaved with a notched iron hoop, pitched over the face and head, and suddenly plunged into the water by the removal of his support.

The lenity or severity, with which these different nuisances are administered, depends upon the personal feelings of the God and his priests.

The victims to this ceremony are a laughing stock to all the spectators, and it is not everybody, that can bring his mind tamely to submit to indignity.

The natural jealousy, that subsists betwixt seamen and soldiers, had nearly, on this occasion, been illustrated in vivid colors.

The seamen, irritated by the escape of the troops from the annoyance they purposed them to endure, leapt sword in hand into the orlop Deck, to compel obedience. The bravery and activity of a young officer quelled the tumult. It is the duty of every commander of a vessel to prohibit this ceremony. Some have not the courage to dissolve the custom. During the process a soldier fell overboard. He was an expert swimmer and soon saved in the cutter. Some large fish, when he was about a quarter of a mile astern, terrified us by the idea they were sharks about to seize him. They proved to be porpoises.

This man possessed a fine woman in his wife, who was accompanying him to India: and one of his comrades, the instant it was reported that Huglain was overboard, exclaimed with demonstrations of joy "Now, then, I 'll have his wife." Let no man deny that delicacy and tenderness predominate in the bosoms of men!

May 5. Lat. $31^{\circ}4''$ S. Long. $29^{\circ}1''$ Barom. $30^{\circ}4''$ Thermom. 72° . Course S.-W. Wind fresh, S.-S.-E. Ship running 8 or 9 knots an hour. Two deaths have occurred. The first of an infant, son of a soldier of the 87th. His parents are Irish Catholics—the distracted mother administered holy water, of which she had brought a phial full, to the child, and when, in spite of the holy water, and the doctor, the poor creature died, she attributed his death to witchcraft. A sailor was noticing the child on deck in the morning,

and called him "a little fairy." I heard the mother execrating, and vowing vengeance against the sailor, as the cause, by this expression of her infant's death. A dissection of the body demonstrated, that although witchcraft was not demanded in explication, the malady was by no means of hacknied occurrence. It was the J lens. This supposition of the mother's was in direct violation of the rule of Horace, "Ne deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus!"

The disease proved fatal in less than 24 hours.

The second death was of a sailor. He fell a victim to a rheumatic metastasis to the head.

The poor fellow had been a Thames Waterman, and finding his trade slack, had determined on a voyage to India, as more lucrative than one from Hungerford stairs to London Bridge.

May 16. Lat $36^{\circ} 9''$ S. Long. $4^{\circ} 45''$ East. Barom. 30° . Thermom. 58° . The last few days have been seen many albatrosses, Cape Pidgeons, Mother Cary's Chickens, and Cape Hens. The first birds are very large. The second as large as our Domestic Pidgeons, web-footed, having a beak like a duck's, with a projection upon the upper mandible near the forehead. Their bellies, and the under-surface of their wings, except at tips, white. Backs, and upper surface of wings, mottled black and white. Eyes entirely black. Neither red nor white visible. Many were caught by a hook, attached to a bait, and floating at the extremity of a line.

Mother Cary's chickens are very little birds—are they described by Barow in this paragraph? "Anas. A small brown duck, not much larger than a thrush, and apparently not described by naturalists." I caught none of these. The albatrosses were of two species—*Diomedea exulans*, the brown *Diomedea demersa*, the white.

June 12. Lat. $28^{\circ} 20''$ S. Long. $79^{\circ} 42''$ East. Barom. $30^{\circ} 20''$. Thermom. 62° . Wind N.-W.

In our course we approached the south American coast, for the advantage of the South-East Trade wind. The greatest degree of Western longitude made, was $34^{\circ} 16''$. On the 27th of May, our latitude by observation was 39° S. This was the greatest degree of Southern latitude, which we made on that day Long. $32^{\circ} 40''$ East. Barom. $30^{\circ} 6''$. Thermom. $65\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. The cape pigeons again appear but few albatrosses—and some whales were seen sporting at some distance in the wake of the ship to-day.

June 23. Lat. $6^{\circ} 9''$ S. Long. $80^{\circ} 4''$ E. Barom. $29^{\circ} 93''$. Thermom. $79\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$. Wind S.-W.-E.-S.-E. Rain. A seaman was thrown overboard yesterday, who died of fever.

July 3. Lat. $5^{\circ} 4''$ N. Long. $82^{\circ} 54''$ E. Barom. $29^{\circ} 95''$. Wind W.-S.-W. This is the greatest point of Eastern Longitude made in our voyage

to Madras. About a week before we reached these roads a squall carried away the foretop mast, the main topgallant mast, and the mizen mast of the *H. C. S. Rose*, which vessel, together with the *Charlotte* had been under the convoy of the *H. C. S. Streatharn*, *Commodore Dale*, from England. Her fate was perceived from our poop, and as she was four miles to windward, time was afforded to take in sail, ere the squall reached us. The *Rose* narrowly escaped destruction. Her lee-ports were open, and she heeled over terrifically. Several men were shook off the rigging into the water, who instantaneously regained the deck so great a mass of ropes rigging, and spars was collected about the ship's side.

MADRAS.

On Tuesday, July 8, we anchored in Madras Roads at sunset, about a mile and half distant from Fort St. George.

The first land, whose aspect blessed our wearied vision, since we left England was the Eastern coasts of Ceylon. We gradually approached them during the day, and at sunset of that day, the mountains bearing West about 4 miles, their outline presented an interesting object. On the morning of July 8, the Indian Continent was visible from the mast head—at noon we perceived the trees and villages. The colouring of the scenery was very striking—the pinkish blue mountains, surmounted some by forts and towers, in the distance lesser eminences, clothed with Palm trees, and sprinkled, here and there, with clusters of huts, in the middle ground—the long line of yellow beach, the dark blue ocean, with its breakers, in the foreground, and the clear serenity of the azure sky, combined to impress ideas not unfavourable of the climes of India. Many native fishermen appeared on their catamarans. These are rafts composed of two, three, or more, spars of wood lashed together; the centre spar projects beyond the rest and forms a stem, and it is usually sunk below the others, so as to form in the middle a hollow space to contain fish, provisions, and other articles. These catamarans are commonly about eight or ten feet long, and three broad: sometimes carry a triangular sail, but generally are propelled by paddles. Two, three, or four natives kneel on them, holding paddles formed of the halves of split bamboos, which they grasp with both hands in the centre, and introduce now one end, now another, on the different sides of the catamaran. They even venture on these apparently frail machines out of sight of land. Instances are common of their being attacked by sharks, who leap at them from out the water.

The native boats used in the intercourse of the ships and shore in Madras roads, in the transmission of the articles of trade, etc., are called Massoolah Boats. They are flat-bottomed, have high sides, and planks sewed together by string formed by the fibres of the cocoanut. Their

appearance is awkward and barbarous, but they are adapted to the passage of the surf, which is too strong and high for European boats.

I am, however, informed, that Capt. Pellew dashed through it, when employed on this station, in one of his own boats. Accidents not unfrequently happen by the upset of these Massoolah boats, but the blacks of the catamarans are dexterous in the prompt supply of assistance. They obtain, on such occasions, liberal rewards. One may, almost always, calculate upon a soaking from the spray, in the passage of the surf.

All the blacks, employed on the water, are in a state of nudity, a narrow piece of linen is the only semblance of a vestment attached to their body. They wear perhaps a covering for the head, a turban or some kind of cap. I always felt abhorrence at the yell of their boatsong—the sound of this, and the sight of their diminutive, black, meagre, naked bodies, reminded me of imps from the infernal regions. The joints of the fishermen are flexible as to suffer them to sit with the greatest ease upon their haunches, their legs bent as in kneeling, and their inner ankles, and inner sides of the feet, forming their seats. Their stature is small, their color black but not so deep as that of the African, their eyes lively—they wear, to a man, mustachirs, and use much gesticulation in their converse.

July 9. To-day the ship swarmed with a number of natives superior in caste to those just mentioned. They are Gentoos. They offer their services as Dhubashes, or servants, during the stay of the ship. They wear white turbans and robes. Some are very handsome, and their white teeth form a fine contrast with their dark skin, and still darker mustachies. They are pacific, obedient even to slavishness, and alert. They are deceitful and dishonest. They charge much more for the articles, which they procure you, than in the sequel they willingly receive. Perhaps they charge an overplus from the conviction that their bills will certainly be reduced. Whether this practice be the result of interested conduct first displayed by themselves or Europeans, I do not pretend to decide.

July 15. To-day I went ashore, accompanied by two friends. The moment we landed, we were pestered by a swarm of servants, numerous as locusts, offering their services, whom it was impossible to get rid of but by threats, and menacing gestures. The scene, to an Englishman first landed, is imposing. Every thing is novel, every thing obtrudes the idea of a subjugation as complete as one nation can possibly receive from another. The idea of dominion is inseparably attached to the whites—that of conquest, of ignorance, and of poverty to the natives. One rarely meets a native in his own carriage, or on his own horse, or even in a common palanquin—on the contrary it is much rarer to meet a white in any servile situation whatever. Nor is the treatment the blacks receive at the hands of Europeans

calculated to soften the idea of subjugation. So far as I observed it was at all times contemptuous, very frequently brutal. But I confine this remark to the conduct of novel Europeans, whose visits to the country are transient, and to that of newly arrived residents. I believe, that such as have long resided in the country, have discovered the good policy of kindness and humanity. We repaired to the "Madras Tavern" kept by a half caste woman, but superintended by an Englishman, named Taylor, who has since married the Landlady. It is a spacious building—the attendance is good, and the provisions of the best sort.

The houses here have large rooms, without glazed windows, but with valves, either Venetian, or of wicker work. The roofs are flat, the balconies numerous. We visited Fort St. George, but so hastily, and so late in the day, as to be unable to give any precise account from personal observation. It is very extensive, and impresses, at first view, an idea of strength. No scapoys I have yet seen, in size or figure, or port, realize my anticipations of their physical superiority. But they were attached, I fancy, to Veteran Battalia, which had seen much service. However, they suffer much by a comparison with the veterans of European armies. They are small, meagre, bowlegged, and cannot boast, unless my physiognomical discernment is puzzled by their color, that dignity of countenance, which characterizes an old soldier. I must say, however, that mine is an almost solitary opinion; and that they are, nearly by every body, admired as fine men.

They form a distinct caste. Their children are hereditary soldiers. They enjoy the reputation of great courage, and it is said that a party of Sepoys lately volunteered to storm a breach, from which a British regiment shrunk in dismay.

July 16. Early this morning we hired one horse chaises, called buggies, and visited the southern neighbourhood of the town. The great population of this country is evidenced by the multitudes of natives, which throng the streets, and suburbs.

The European servants of the Company, whose offices of business are contained within the walls of Fort St. George, possess country residences in the vicinity of the town. To these they repair after the business of the day. They call them Garden Houses. They are numerous in this quarter, and are elegant buildings. But the flatness of the country, the apparent sameness of the surrounding pleasure grounds, and the dark colored chunam, wherewith the houses are plastered, gave them, to my vision, a mournful aspect. We returned to breakfast at the Tavern: after which, about ten o'clock A.M. myself and two friends hired a buggy and a horse, for Poonamalee, on a visit to the officers of the 34th Reg. who had been our shipmates, and whose gentlemanly conduct, and intelligent conversation, all on board regretted

deeply to lose. Poonamalee consists of a village, and small native fort, about fifteen miles S.-W. from Madras. It is by no means a strong fort ; but to native undisciplined troops, might perhaps be an object of importance. The village lies close to it. I was gratified whilst strolling about the village, by the quiet, unassuming manners of the natives of both sexes, and of all ages. In the bazaar, or market place, might be obtained either the fruits and rarities of India, or the nick nacks of an European hardware, and toy man. The children were very playful, and the parents much pleased by any attentions, or praise, paid to them. With but one or two exceptions, I saw no beautiful features of countenance, no elegance of form in any of the natives. We experienced a most hospitable reception from the officers : a generous tiffin was directly prepared to which we did not fail to do practical homage. In the course of the day we surveyed the fort—at 5 o'clock a parade took place of all the detachments at this *Depôt*. The barracks are situated on that side of the fort opposite to the village. It was an animating and affecting sight to behold a mass of English soldiers, as gay, and as spirited, as they are seen at a parade in England, so many thousand miles from their native country, and in a state of complete security amid the hordes of a conquered empire. Nor were my sensations of the magical nature of this scene at all diminished at the mess, prepared at 7 o'clock in the *Depôt* mess room, a light and airy building, in the cool of the evening, the stars twinkling from a clear and placid sky, through the open doors and windows.

The mess was very rich, combining the delicacies of the East, with the luxuries of Europe and we were animated by the music of a regimental band—this was of the first order, but I suspect that the auditory sense, testified, in common with the rest, the potency of the generous libations of wine, and that few in the room could long distinguish "God save the King" from a Highland reel. Indeed, Poonamalee is notorious for the excesses committed by our newly arrived officers. It is their first halting place on the road to the interior—here they first experience the miseries of this overwhelming climate, and the force of the temptation to ebriety, which thirst, and a paralyzing languor create. And I believe that here is laid the foundation of many a lasting disease and many a death : the constitution of a great majority being unequal to so violent a change of diet and habits.

The critical period, on which depend the health and life of the European is on the first arrival in this country. If he maintain command over his passions, preserving an inviolable systematic temperance, and due observation of peculiar rules laid down by experienced persons, he has a chance of life—if not, I know not what can save him from diseases, which sooner or later, will embitter or destroy existence.

At 10 o'clock the gates of the Fort are barred nightly, so that at this hour we were compelled to retire from the dinner table.

Having returned to the fort, and smoked a few cheroots in the viranda, we each retired to a profound rest.

Whether there were no mosquitoes at this place, or whether the vinous narcotics of the evening rendered us insensible to their stings, I cannot decide. It is certain, which I can affirm of no future night during a stay of six months in this annoying climate, it is certain there was great difficulty in rousing us to breakfast at an early hour, after an uninterrupted and deep repose.

1817. August 22. New Anchorage mouth of the River Hooghly—Bengal. We have been moored here about ten days. The south-west monsoon wafted us from Madras in the space of about five days. A clear blue sky, and a fresh breeze rendered this short voyage very pleasant. The navigation to the mouth of the Hooghly, and of its course up to Calcutta, is intricate and dangerous; and a system of pilotage has been established in consequence by the Company. This service is hard but lucrative. I understand boys are sent out from England, who have been educated expressly for this profession at Christ Church school. They pass through the lower grades of the service as leadsmen, etc., and rise slowly, and after strict examinations to the command of a Pilot Vessel.

We lie opposite Cudjeree—I think the River about eight miles wide, at this part—but we are much nearer the Eastern bank than to Cudjeree from which first we are distant more than two miles. No hills are to be seen—a straight level coast wooded to the water mark, is our uninteresting prospect. The country eastward of the Hoogley consists of innumerable islands, formed by creeks, of which many are deep enough for ships of great burthen, but so narrow, and meandering in such sudden turns, that their navigation is defeated.

It was the opinion of Mr. Chew, the oldest branch pilot, that the creek opposite Cudjeree might be made to form an excellent dock for ships needing repair. There is not a dock nearer than Calcutta—to reach this, ships of great burthen must be lightened entirely; nor then have they water to spare. Nor have the Company a dock along that great line of coast intervening between Bengal and Bombay.

Diamond Harbour, twenty miles higher up the river, was, until this season, the anchorage of the Company's largest Bengal Ships. But the sandy bed of the river varies, from time to time; and it is deemed unsafe to convey higher ships of a greater burthen than nine-hundred tons. Diamond Harbour has ever been deemed an unhealthy station. The new anchorage, I am told, during the south-west monsoon, is not unhealthy, but easterly and south-easterly winds are said to induce disease and mortality.

The natives, which have come aboard, excel those I saw on the

Coromandel coast, in intelligence, in their acquaintance with the English language, in the form of their bodies, their features of countenance and the dignity and grace of their demeanour. Provisions and other articles are cheaper than at Madras. The people seem less avaricious, and cunning. They are very fond of tobacco. Not a boat comes alongside but somebody is sure to be seen upon his haunches, smoking out of what our sailors call their hubble-bubble from the gurgling noise made at each inspiration. A hollow ball, perhaps made of a cocoanut, contains water to a certain height—a tube to which is affixed the bowl of tobacco, communicates with the interior of the bowl of water. They apply their lips to a little hole drilled in the ball above the water mark. These instruments pass round for alternate gratification, just as our countrymen do their tankard. The hookah, smoked by Europeans, has its smoke equally cooled, but it is conveyed through a very long tube. The tobacco of the hookah is mixed up with various ingredients, the combustion of which always produced to me a smell disagreeable and sickly. But the hookah-smokers are inconceivably attached to them.

The gurgling noise of the hookah is also unpleasant, and hostile to that soothing influence, that tendency to abstract contemplation, manifested in the use of tobacco, under any other form.

CALCUTTA.

October 23. Half of the seamen, attended by appointed officers, embarked in three boats, this day, for Calcutta. It is customary, in these ships, to allow the crew three or four days freedom to see Calcutta. This is their only period of freedom during this tedious voyage. I accompanied them. We left the New Anchorage at six in the evening. Oct. 24. We arrived at Calcutta near midnight: a distance of about 80 miles. The country between the town and river's mouth is level—no part is visible, but the vicinity of the banks of Diamond Harbour I have spoken above—its distance from the new anchorage, and the burthen of the ships moored here during their stay in Bengal. This Harbour is formed by an expanse of the river. The Harbour Master's house is situated on the eastern bank. A few huts are near it, and a black town is distant, I am told, from it a mile. I know not that there is more than one European besides the Harbour Master in this neighbourhood. So isolated are the Whites, officially employed, over this great country. A similar officer superintends the moorings at the New Anchorage: but he resides aboard the mooring vessel. There are two Europeans at Cudjeree—a master-attendant and a post master, and a circumstance connected with them presents a singular trait of character in the human mind. Who would imagine that

men so compelled, as it were, to harmony and friendship, would be down-right enemies? Such, I am told, they are.

Three kinds of boat are used on this river—The dingey—the paunchway—the budgerow. The general principles of their construction, are, I believe, similar, and these are but names applied to the vessel in its different grades of rudeness or perfection. The last is the most convenient, and the completest boat. The first the roughest. They are sharp, stem and stern. They rise more or less abaft: and commonly their rudders are formed of great paddles attached to a perpendicular pole in the stern. Paunchways conveyed our seamen. These have a deck, which can be made entire—when thus, I should not fear much to be upset in one. The rowers sit upon their haunches forward—abaft is the steersman or manjee. Betwixt is a canopy, in the form of a hut, having either an angular, or round summit. The anchor is a great stone firmly enclasped by two or three sticks whose extremities project beyond the stone.

About midnight of the 23rd we anchored near the shore in Diamond Harbour, at the return of the ebbtide. The high spirits of the sailors elevated by freedom and grog, evinced themselves during the night in songs and riot.

We weighed at daybreak of the 24th, and proceeded. North of Diamond Harbour and on the eastern bank, we passed the village of Fultah, and a handsome tavern kept by an European. Further, on the western bank, the village of Willoby—whose atmosphere was contaminated by the effluvia of a putrid carcase near the huts—I presume the olfactories of the natives habituated to ammoniacal odours. They all seemed at ease. Still higher, another village, and tavern called Budge-budge, is seated on the eastern bank, commanding a picturesque expanse of the river.

Here the night approached: and the howls of jackalls, especially from the left bank, were prodigious. I fell asleep and was awaked by the information that we had reached Calcutta.

The moonlight view of this celebrated city produced sensations describable with difficulty. The shadowed walls of Fort William frowning over the eastern bank—the darkened foliage of the esplanade, running parallel to the river, and uniting the fort, with the town, still higher up the river, the white fronts of the buildings on the Sulky side of the stream reflecting the moon beams and the multitude of ships, presented a combination of interesting images. Let him imagine it, who has ever pondered the marvellous nature of our Indian empire—the achievements of a Watson, or a Clive.

Oct. 26. Government house is a great pile of massive architecture; more European in appearance than any other building I saw in the country. The paucity of virandas, and the proportionate smallness of the windows

distinguish it from the generality of buildings in India, as well as its great size, and magnificent air.

Calcutta has been truly called, I know not now by whom, "a city of palaces." Such are the majority of European houses. In the native suburbs you may endure any degree of offence to the senses you may desire.

The comparison of European luxury with native indigence, and degradation in this part of the empire is most irresistibly forced upon the mind.

The moralist views it with pain—unaccustomed to measure the dignity of man by external appearances, and believing in the natural equality of all men (an equality perfectly consistent with subordination) and in the common grandeur of their immortal destiny—he cannot but lament a system, however it originated, wherein so complete a line of demarcation is drawn between one race and another. Their physical contrast is very great: the moral is wider still. A wide basis for invidious comparison is presented by arts, science, morals and religion. Poverty and hardship are contrasted with affluence and ease—with power and splendor, ignorance with knowledge—and an abject, debilitating superstition, with the ennobling and animating doctrines of Christianity.

Octob. 31. An intelligent elderly native, a master grammatically of the English language, of courteous manners, and dignified physiognomy, was thrown in my way to-day. He is sircar to a Banyan. He laboured to convince me that his religious sentiments differed not fundamentally from those of Xtians. His belief in the Unity of the Deity, in the existence of a mediator, in the immortality of the soul, and a future state of retribution, established, he said, the essential identity of the creeds. I asked him why he refused intercourse with Christians, since he believed their religious creed. He said he dreaded the mockery of his countrymen. I told him as a lover of truth, which he professed himself, he was bound to follow her in sunshine and in rain. He said he could not deny it. He often attended the divine service of the Christians, and wept during its performance. His caste was forbid the use of animal food—I asked him the reason. Because it involved the infliction of pain. The same tender principle induced to the reconciling of enemies, interposition between combatants, and universal charity to men.

He extolled the English—did not appear to repine at European dominion: and stated the superior condition now maintained by the Hindoos to that endured under Mahomedan despotism, whose destruction he gratefully attributed to the English.

What would follow a belief of the castes rejecting animal food in the Darwinian theory of vegetable sensation?

The natives, which eat animal food, will not partake of any slain by

Europeans. I have seen them aboard stab the ship's company's bullocks, when they were anticipating a portion. And dreadful gashes in the throats of the poor animals they make; yet I have known them to eat birds shot by some of our party in the ascent of the river, provided they cut their throats themselves afterwards. The heat may not have left the body—the limbs might have been convulsed—but they must have known that virtually the animals were not killed by their hands. If an European touch the pot in which they cook their victuals, it is defiled, and victuals and all thrown away.

Of their morals I have not seen enough to form a judgment thereon. One circumstance surprized me; I know not whether to attribute it to an individual character of honesty or a strict espionage of police. I have repeatedly accompanied a friend shopping in Calcutta, whose chatta boy, (the person carrying an umbrella over one's head) would obtain credit for his master to a considerable amount, although the boy could not himself perhaps muster a rupee. The boy said he was responsible for the payment.

The huts of the blacks are most wretched hovels composed of a framework of sticks covered by rushes meshed. These are the walls. The roofs are thatched. They contain one or two apartments for the whole family. These have no floors, either of wood or stone. They exhibit a deplorable appearance of a want of comfort. The disposition of the masses of huts in this place is curious. Perhaps in a space formed by the surrounding walls of three or four Europeans' gardens, shall be found a whole village, if I may term thus the cluster with its tank, grassplot, and garden ground.

But the ignorance of this people is not attended by vanity, the usual concomitant of ignorance. They allow to Europeans a superiority in every science except that of music. Of this the noise is similar to the effect of an ill-played bagpipe and two or three children's drums purchased at a village fair in England.

The stature of these blacks, like that of the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel, is diminutive, but their countenance is finer, and their form more elegant. I speak of the men: of the women, some are plain, some are ugly, the majority hideous. They are very diminutive, having an inclination to the right side, and consequent projection of the left hip, produced by a custom of carrying their infants on the projection of this hip.

This day I attended divine service in the morning at the church of the Baptist missionaries. Dr. Carey, Professor of Languages at Fort William, preached a controversial sermon on the proper mode of Baptism. He baptized an European lady, and seven or eight half-caste females. The congregation was small, composed partly of Europeans, partly of half-caste natives, and a very few direct natives.

Oct. 28. Our first division of seamen returned to the ship. They had

indulged in every species of excess, but one man only was too ill to quit Calcutta. I conveyed him to the General Hospital. This building is situated near the Fort which intervenes between it and the river. It is airy and spacious and if scenery be an object in the treatment of patients, the verdure and the foliage of the surrounding area must inspire lively ideas. It is free of access to whites and natives, of the last three only were in the building. They have an overweening faith in their own doctors.

Saturday, November 1st. I visited the Company's Botanic Gardens. They are situated on the western or Sulkey side of the river somewhat more than a mile below the town. Dr. Wallack* superintends them. Unfortunately very few flowers were visible, as this is the cold season of this climate. The plants and trees are most magnificent and elegant, but want of time, and of an intelligent director, abridged the period of my admiration, and hurried me back to Calcutta.

SERAMPORE.

Sunday, November 2. I rose before day break, and in company of a friend, hired a punchway for Serampore, a Dutch Settlement, on the western bank of the Hooghly about 16 miles north of Calcutta. The Baptist Missionary society has here established the head-quarters of its missionary servants. But this resulted from necessity, rather than selection. Upon the first arrival of the Missionaries in this country, some, of whom one was Dr. Carey, had penetrated the interior, and on their return found themselves prohibited to preach the Gospel at Calcutta. The Dutch Settlement of Serampore extended its benevolent protection—and here has since continued the chief missionary institution. This town is seated on the delightful bank of the river immediately opposite Barrackpore, and its splendid military edifices, and spacious plantations. The houses of the Europeans at Serampore lie parallel to the river, from which they are separated by the high road. I think the river less than a half mile wide. We arrived at the inn, which is kept by a Frenchman, about one P.M. The house is spacious, but not kept in the cleanest state. Behind the inn is situated a Roman Catholic Church. Admonished by the bell, I entered. The building is small: and the sight of its interior gave me the same kind of impression as is produced by a halfpenny peep into a show-box at a fair in England: such was the collection of pictures, and silks and tassels of silver and spangles of gold. How can the natives be expected to credit the superiority of the Christian religion, when they behold such a mass of puerile baubles in the temple of God?

* Nathaniel Wallack (1796—1854). A Danish Surgeon, who in 1817 was appointed Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanic Garden. See Buckland: *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

In the evening I was gratified by a spectacle of a different nature. Having drank tea at the Revd. Dr. Marshman's, at the Mission House, I attended divine service at the missionary church, and witnessed the administration of the sacrament by the Revd. Dr. Carey: who addressed the native communicants in their own tongue. Perhaps about a dozen natives, men and women, received the sacrament.

The gentlemen attached to this missionary institution reside in a cluster of connected buildings: Drs. Carey and Marshman, the Revd. Wm. Ward, Mr. Pearce who has recently been appointed to the office of Printer and the Superintendent of the paper manufactory. The literary reputation of the three first gentleman is fully established. To his profound acquaintance with the oriental tongues, Dr. Carey adds, I understand, a masterly knowledge of the natural history of the East.

Monday, November 3. Before breakfast, I traversed his gardens. I saw likewise his aviary containing some very lovely, and some very rare birds. Among the last was a Toucan and a bird of Paradise.

The missionaries eat their meals together. I breakfasted with them and their ladies: and afterwards was politely conveyed by Mr. Pearce round the different departments of the institution—the paper factory—the printing house—the type foundry—the Bengalee school for natives. It is not easy to express my sensations on the sight of this interesting and great monument of the effects of perseverance in a righteous cause. I saw in the Press-room the sacred scriptures in Marhatta, in Siamese, in Chinese, in Bengalee, and in more languages than I can remember: the results of the studies and labors of but five and twenty years. My imagination was involuntarily hurried through future ages, and I never beheld the importance of human actions so embodied, (if I may use this word) as when I found myself standing at that fountain-head, whence the rivers of truth and of salvation will flow and fertilize all Eastern Asia—and in the company of those great and good men, whose incessant labors are directing and channeling their streams. Let him who prefers the *utile dulci*, who can discriminate betwixt splendor and happiness, who feels that men are brethren, and believes in their immortality, say which he would contemplate with most delight, the battle of Assye, or the Mission House at Serampore.

This town is not fortified. A small battery fronts the river, but it is appropriated to salutes and too weak for the purpose either of attack or defence.

Instances frequently occur of the evasion of creditors at Calcutta by a refuge in this place. The banyan of an officer of the *Charlotte* decamped, whilst I was in Calcutta, with money and merchandize of that Gent. to the amount of nearly four thousand pounds. Others were defrauded to a less

amount. This scoundrel, it was ascertained, had resorted to Serampore and little hope is fostered of any retribution. The black town is extensive and the huts are disposed in very picturesque groups beneath the lofty trees.

Having taken leave of the hospitable Christians at the Mission House, we embarked—and by the aid of the tide and our oars, reached Calcutta in three hours or less. The scenery on each side of the stream is peculiar and interesting. The greatness of the population of this country struck us when we saw the whole western bank lined by huts. Numerous pagan temples and pagodas break the uniformity of the scene—wide flights of massive stone steps descend from them into the sacred river, to facilitate the ablution of the votaries. As we rowed along, on the Sunday morning, the number of natives thus devoutly bathing in the stream, was prodigious: of all ages and each sex.

They do not strip themselves of their scanty clothing. We passed a group of very fine females lounging on the steps of a temple, and bathing. Their stature was greater than that of the Hindoo women—their color was less dark—their form and expression of countenance noble and elegant. Were they Mahomedans retaining more than usual of their original through their descent? I saw two poor wretches, of the Gentoo caste, brought to the border of the river, to be borne away by the returning tide. They lay covered on their beds—whilst an attendant on each constantly poured the sacred water of the river into their mouths. This merciless caste, when a sick wretch is deemed incurable, convey him to the water's edge—and perpetually pouring the water over his face, and into his mouth, till the tide reaches the spot, they suffer him to be borne away—to be the food of alligators, perhaps whilst yet retains sufficient sensibility of this most horrid aggravation of their last agonies. How many of these unfortunate victims might be preserved from dissolution, even in this land of ignorance, and under the care of their own besotted fellows, cannot easily be guessed.

We only know that in the most civilized countries, an invalid is not unfrequently consigned to despair even by physicians of science and experience, who yet recovers, to the falsification of their grave prognosis. One instance occurred of the restoration to health of a Gentoo thus barbarously devoted to destruction. Dr. Hare, a celebrated Physician at Calcutta has the reputation, and the self applause of this success. This custom, I was informed by a gentleman of authority at Serampore, proceeds from sheer inhumanity. These barbarians embrace this method to get rid of a fellow creature, who cannot shift for himself, and is become a burden to them. Common sense and human feeling demand a peremptory interposition on the part of a Government which professes to be composed of Englishmen.

November 4. I returned with the second division of seamen to the ship.

We left Calcutta about noon. Many of the men were drunk—many stupid—many lively. One man only had deserted—who was afterwards taken. He had joined another vessel.

November 5. We reached the New Anchorage about 2 P.M. Near Culpee, a village on the eastern bank, below Diamond Harbour, stands a pyramidal monument, said to be erected to the memory of the first English lady that died in this country, since so destructive to thousands. I could not inspect the edifice closely, nor ascertain the correctness of this queer story.

November 6. At 2 A.M. I embarked in a budgerow in attendance on a sick friend and menmate for Calcutta. The budgerow is a boat of a very convenient description. The forepart is occupied by the rowers—the after part by the steersman—and the central by a cabin for the passengers. Its ceiling is elevated above the deck of the boat—its floor depressed below it—so that one enjoys room, and light and air are admitted through venetian blinds on all sides.

November 8. At day break we were not higher than Diamond Harbour—the winds and tides had opposed us strongly the whole of the preceding day. We soon reached Fultah, the village mentioned previously to be situate on the eastern bank of the river. The Tavern here is kept by a Dutchman who consoled us by a most sumptuous breakfast, for which we paid two rupees each. The village lies close to the garden walls of the Inn. The women here were dressed more neatly and gracefully than any whom I had previously seen—and they were nearer in their approaches to beauty than the majority of Hindoo females. They were almost all courtezans.

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In the evening we again embarked, and reached Calcutta at day break of November. 9.

The officers of Customs examine the baggage of persons, who have ascended the river—but they are not rigorous, and their timidity is doubtless often taken advantage of by the boisterous and bullying European.

To-day I visited the celebrated Black Hole. It is a room in the Old Fort: Fort William being of modern construction, and a mile distant from the other.

The old Fort is now converted into offices, store rooms, etc., and our Purser has been employed many days in weighing copper on that very spot, where perished the victims of the barbarous Surajah Dowlah. The door was locked, but I stooped, and looked beneath it, and saw with horror the grated window, at which the illfated captives gasped for air. That window looks into the high road and opposite it, and near the extremity of the Writers' Buildings is erected a monument to commemorate the cruelty, and the vengeance it subsequently received. It is a plain pyramid, supported by a

quadrangular base—on the western face of which is an inscription that "the cruelty of the Rajah was amply revenged in the sequel." It is a mean monument. Milburn, in his *Oriental Commerce*, says it has "a design in sculpture on each of its sides, and an inscription in the English and native languages, describing the occasion on which it was erected. It is surrounded with an iron railing to prevent access to it, has shrubs planted about it, and exhibits an appearance not unsuitable to the event, which it is intended to commemorate". Milburn's book was published in 1813. I saw no sculptured designs on either face of the pedestal:—no inscription in the native language—no iron railing, nor shrubs: and so far from its exhibition, in my opinion, of a "not unsuitable appearance" it appeared totally unworthy of the universal interest excited by that most hideous event: nor does it seem to have arrested the attention of the natives—none of whom I inquired, could point out the Black Hole close to it.

This destruction of the captive English occurred in 1756: and such of our countrymen as had the lucky fortune to evade the enemy, left the Fort, and sought a temporary but secure asylum at Fultah.

The Esplanade affords in the cool of the evening a grateful resort. It runs parallel to the river between Fort William and the town, and Government House lies west of it.

Sunday, November 10. This forenoon I attended divine service at the Cathedral: a handsome and airy building—it presented a sight rare in England, a congregation of genteelly dressed persons without one exception.

In the afternoon I traversed one of the European burial-grounds, of which there are three situated near the Chouringhee Road, at the eastward end of the city. The monuments are all splendid—regular mausolea—built with bricks covered by chunam—a native plaster giving them as handsome an appearance as stones. Of the epitaphs I could discover none on males, who had survived the age of sixty-four. Three or four alone had approached that period: the majority had perished between ages of thirty and forty. The females had died generally between the ages of twenty and thirty—many, and they, perhaps, married ladies under the first age. Of infants, a great number lay here entombed; and the grandeur of their monuments equalled that of the adults. The epitaphs, whether in prose or verse, were universally paltry—as vulgar as on the gravestones of English plebeians. These monuments present a most curious appearance at sunset. The adjutant birds are seen stationed on the summits of the tallest and most pyramidal tombs, motionless as the structures they surmount, having selected positions which architectural taste, I fancy, could not improve.

They are equally happy in their selection of perches on the houses in the city. These birds are very large having long necks,—disproportionately large bills—small eyes—long legs—with a great pouch at their throat, at times dangling disgustingly—at times contracted and invisible: in this pouch they deposit their food. Red pole—chest white—belly also white,—white nape of neck. They usually stand, with the neck sunk into a shrug of the shoulders, as roughly sketched.* It is punishable to destroy these birds, since they contribute to the destruction of vermin about the City.

The Brahman kites, deemed sacred by the natives, the adjutant and cows, swarm in Calcutta in the gardens, on the houses, in the streets. One of the black servants of the Captain here says he saw an adjutant in the compound (the area surrounding the house) swallow a rat—that he deposited him in his pouch, and that the rat soon ate its way through the membrane, and ran off.

In the evening of this day, I attended divine service at the Baptist Missionary Church. The Revd. W. Ward, the learned publisher of several works on subjects of Hindu Literature, preached.

Saturday, Nov. 15. I embarked with an officer of another ship on board a Paunchway at 7 P.M. and reached the ship in a little more twenty-four hours—our passage was favoured by the north-east monsoon. The population on the banks of the Hoogly southward of Calcutta is much less than that northward of the city. However, if there are fewer living, there are many dead specimens of natives. Human bones and skulls lie scattered along the shores whitening in the sun. There is no difficulty attached to the ascent of the Hoogly to Calcutta, on the part of the Police, but on our descent of the River we were twice boarded by peons.

* A pen sketch is given in the MS.

(To be concluded.)

Early History of Bengal—II.

DHARMAPĀLA came to the throne on Gopāla's death. In Babu Rāmaprasād Chandra's work, the *Gaudarāj mālā*, there is a learned and exhaustive discussion of the evidence furnished by different inscriptions with regard to the date of Dharmapāla's accession, the upshot of which is that he must have come to the throne near the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A. D. The outstanding fact of Dharmapāla's reign is his conquest of Kanauj.

It is clearly established by the concordant testimony of several inscriptions of sovereigns, not only of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, but also of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan, and the Pratihāra dynasty of Western India, that Dharmapāla deposed the King of Kanauj, Indrāyudha, and set up in his place one Chakrāyudha, who, thereafter, stood in a relation of subordinate alliance towards Dharmapāla.

From a verse of the Khālimpur Pāla inscription, already quoted, which recounts that a number of different races of North-Western, Western, and central India had to agree to the selection of Chakrāyudha by Dharmapāla, as ruler of Kanauj, Babu Rākhaldās Bannerji has concluded that Dharmapāla must have conquered and overruled, not only the country of Kanauj, but also what are now the Panjab and North-Western Frontier Province, Sindh, Mālwa and part of Rajputāna. This is, I think, a very hazardous inference, but we may reasonably believe that, at the time of his conquest of Kanauj, Dharmapāla's prestige must have stood very high in Northern India.

The elevation of Chakrāyudha to the throne of Kanauj was followed by hostilities between the Pratihāra chief Nāgabhatta II, successor of Vatsa, and Chakrāyudha, who was supported by his overlord Dharmapāla. In a Pratihāra inscription found at Gwalior it is claimed that Nāgabhatta defeated both Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla appears then to have turned for aid to the Rāshtrakūṭa King Govinda III. An inscription of Govinda's successor, Amoghavarsha I, represents Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla as submitting to Govinda. It would not be safe to rely on the evidence of Pratihāra and Rāshtrakūṭa writings only with regard to these transactions, but, as they are not mentioned at all in the Pāla inscriptions, it is safe to assume that they did not enhance the Pāla prestige. Babu Rākhaldās Bannerji infers from two Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions that the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III defeated the Pratihāra Nāgabhatta II and drove him back from Kanauj, that, thereafter, Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha were left in undisturbed possession

of their territories, and that the Pratiharas did not permanently acquire Kanauj till the time of the great Pratihāra king Mihira or Bhoja I.

Mr. Vincent Smith, on the other hand, thinks that it may be presumed that Nagabhatta transferred the headquarters of his government to Kanauj, which continued to be the Pratihāra capital for many generations. The point is, perhaps, doubtful, but I think that there is no evidence of Pratihāra occupation of Kanauj as a capital, in the shape of a Pratihāra grant dated from that place, before the reign of Mihira Bhoja.

Llāma Tāranāth says that Dharmapāl^{reign} reigned for 64 years. Babu Rākha^l Das Banerji considers this to be impossible, but his reasons for rejecting the statement are not clear. A copper-plate grant of Mihirabhoja found at Daulatpura in Jodhpur State, is dated from Kanauj in the year 843 A. D. This is, of course, not conclusive evidence that, at that date, the Pratiharas had made Kanauj their permanent capital—it may have been only a temporary occupation. The date referred to would fall in the reign of Dharmapāla, if we accept Tāranāth's statement that he was on the throne for 64 years, and take 800 A. D., as about the date of his accession. If we reject Tāranāth's evidence as to the length of Dharmapāla's reign, we have the Khalimpur inscription, as proof that he was on the throne for 32 years at least, that inscription being dated in the 32nd year of his reign. We have similar proof in the Monghyr inscription of his successor, Devapāla, that Devapāla ruled for at least 33 years. Therefore, if we take 800 A. D., as the approximate date of Dharmapāla's accession, we must conclude that the year 843 A. D., when Mihirabhoja was, undoubtedly, in occupation of Kanauj, fell either in the reign of Dharmapāla or in that of Devapāla, but, as I have said, we do not know how long that occupation lasted.

The fact is that there is still much uncertainty as to the dates of the first Pala Kings, and the vicissitudes of the fighting between them and the Pratiharas. It is, however, pretty clearly established that Dharmapāla came to the throne about the beginning of the ninth century A. D., that, shortly after his accession, he conquered Kanauj, and established a temporary suzerainty over that country, and that, subsequently, there was a prolonged struggle between the Pratiharas and the Palas of Bengal, as well as the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan, with whom the Palas were often allied. This struggle went on, probably with vicissitudes of fortune, and, no doubt, with intervals of peace, we do not know exactly for how long, but it resulted in the Pratiharas establishing themselves permanently at Kanauj at some time in the ninth century, and, probably, also, in their conquering some part of Magadha, and of Tirhut. Dharmapāla, it appears, was a reformer of the Buddhist religion. During his reign, and with his encouragement, a commentary on the Prajnaparimita, one of the principal religious books of

the Mahāyāna school, was written by an eminent Buddhist scholar named Hari Bhadra.

Dharmapāla married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess named Rannadevi, which is not surprising, considering his political relations with the Rāshtrakūṭas.

He was a beneficent and popular sovereign, if we may judge from the statement in the Khālimpur inscription that he used modestly to bow his head, and turn it to one side, when he heard his praises sung by the village cowherds, the children at play, and even the parrots in their cages.

He was succeeded by his son Devapāla, on whose reign some light is thrown by a grant of his own, dated from Monghyr, or Mudgagiri as it was then called, in the 33rd year of his reign ; by a grant of Narāyanapāla his grandnephew and next successor but one, dated also from Monghyr in the 17th year of Narāyanapāla's reign, and by the inscription on the well-known Badal pillar erected by Gurava Misra, Prime Minister to Narāyanapāla, and great grandson of Darbhapani, who was Devapāla's minister. All of these records agree in representing Devapāla as a warlike king. The Monghyr grant of Devapāla speaks of his war elephants penetrating the Vindhya Mountains, and of his war horses visiting the country of the Kambojas, from which they took their origin. Narāyanapāla's Monghyr grant says that Jaypāla, who may have been a younger brother or a cousin of Devapāla, went out to conquer, at his bidding, and the lord of Utkala, hearing Devapāla's name from afar, fled from his capital, while the Lord of Pragjyotisha, accepting Devapāla's commands, remained in peace and friendship. There has been some controversy, arising from an obscurity in a passage of this inscription, as to the relationships of Devapāla and the Jaypāla mentioned here to one another, and to Dharmapāla. It was at one time held by some authorities that Devapāla and Jaypāla were sons of Dharmapāla's younger brother, Vakpāla. The Monghyr grant of Devapāla, however, distinctly refers to Dharmapāla as his father. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji and Mahamahopādhyaya Haraprasād Sastri hold that Devapāla was Dharmapāla's son, and that Jayapāla was Vakpāla's son and Devapāla's cousin. Babus Ramaprasād Chanda and Akhoy Kumar Maitra take Devapāla and Jaypāla to have been both sons of Dharmapāla, Devapāla being the elder. The former view seems to be supported by a manuscript book in the India Office Library in London, entitled "Chāndogya Parisishta," in which there is a reference to the performance of the Sraddha ceremony of Vakpāla, by his son, Jaypāla. I am not sure whether the word in Narāyanapāla's grant describing the relationship between Jaypāla and Devapāla will bear the meaning of "cousin" as well as that of "brother." This point I must leave to better Sanskrit scholars than myself to determine. In the Badal inscription it is said that Devapāla rooted out the race of

Utkala, and humbled the pride of the Huna, Draviḍa, and Gurjara Kings. We have, however, no certain information about these hostilities. Both Babu Ramaprasād Chanda, and Babu Rakhaldas Banerji take the mention of a Draviḍa King in the Badal inscription as referring to a King of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Babu Rakhaldas Banerji takes this King to be Amoghavarṣa I, successor of Govinda III. At page 57 of his work on the Palas of Bengal he quotes, as referring to relations between Devapāla and the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa, in which it is stated that he was honoured by the Lord of Vanga, Anga, and Magadha. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji, apparently, here interprets this as meaning that Devapāla was reduced to submission by Amoghavarṣa. But at p. 59 of the same work Babu Rakhaldas Bennerji takes this same passage as referring to relations of Amoghavarṣa, not with Devapāla, but with either of his next successors, Vigrahapāla I or Narāyanapāla. He takes the Gurjara King to be Rāmabhadra I, predecessor of Mihirabhoja, pointing out that no victories are ascribed to Rāmabhadra in Gurjara inscriptions. Babu Ramaprasād Chanda, on the other hand, takes the Gurjara King to be Mihirabhoja himself and the Draviḍa Krishna II, son and successor of Amoghavarṣa I of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. He quotes a passage from a grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna III, which refers to Krishna II as "teacher of humility to the Gauḍas" and to his having made Anga, Kalinga, and Magadha obedient to his commands. If this passage relates to hostilities between Krishna II and Devapāla, its account of them is in singular contrast with that of Gurava Misra in the Badal inscription.

Babu Ramaprasād quotes also, in support of his view, two inscriptions of the Kalachuri dynasty of Cedi,—a dynasty, which was founded at some time in the 9th century A. D. by one Kokuala, and held sway over a portion of what are now called the Central Provinces, south of the Nerbudda River. This dynasty, also known by the name of Haihaiya, is much connected in history with that of the Chandelas of Jejakabhukti, the country between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, now called Bandalkhand, who came to the front about the same time, their founder being one Nannuka Chandel, who overthrew a Pratihara chieftain, and became lord of the southern part of Jejakabhukti. There is a grant of the Kalachuri King Karna, bearing date 1042 A. D., found at Tevar near Jubalpur, the ancient Tripuri, in which it is said of Kokkala that his arm relieved of fear Bhoja, Vallabharaja, and Sriharsha, Lord of Chitra Kuta, and a stone inscription found at Bilhari says that Kokkala, "having conquered all the world, founded two peerless monuments of fame, on the south the eminent Krishnaraja, and on the north Srinidhi Bhojadeva."

No doubt, the Vallabharaja referred to in the Tripuri inscription is the

same as the Krishnaraja mentioned in the Bilhari inscription, namely Krishna II of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, also called Vallabha, or Krishna-vallabha, who married Kokkala's daughter, and the Sriharsha of the first inscription is Harsha Chandela, who was chief of Jejākabhuti at the beginning of the 10th, and perhaps, also, in the latter part of the ninth century A. D. Babu Rāmaprasād Chanda takes the Bhoja mentioned in both inscriptions to be the Gurjara-Pratihara Mihirobhoja, or Bhoja I. His theory of the meaning of these inscriptions is that the Pratihara Mihirabhoja, Kokkala Kalachuri of Cedi, Krishna II. Rashtrakuta, and Harsha Chandela of Jejākabhukti combined to resist the ambitions of Devapāla of Gauḍa. On the other hand, Babu Rākhaldās Banerji would have it that the Bhoja of these inscriptions is Bhoja II of Kanauj, and that they allude to assistance given by Kokkala to him in his contest with his half-brother Mahipāla for the succession to the throne of their father Bhoja I. It is impossible to say whether this theory, or that of Babu Rāmaprasād Chanda is correct, in the absence of clear evidence as to the dates of accession and the lengths of the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. Both theories may be examined in the light of any further evidence that may come forth. But, in connection with Babu Rāmaprasād Chanda's theory, it may be noted that we have evidence in inscriptions that Vīgrahapāla or Surapāla, the nephew and successor of Devapāla, married a daughter or grand-daughter of Kokkala. Such an alliance might very well follow on the making of peace after hostilities between Devapāla and the Rāshtrakutas and Kālachuris. Babu Rākhaldās Banerji suggests that the Kāmbojas mentioned in Devapāla's Monghyr grant may be the same as the Hunas referred to in the Badal inscription referred to. The name Kāmboja, however, is applied in Sanskrit literature so far as I know, to races of the Mongolian family inhabiting Thibet and the Himalayan regions, and the general belief, which is accepted by Babu Rākhaldās Banerji, that in the tenth century A. D. northern Bengal was invaded by Mongolian tribes from the north, perhaps now represented by the Koches, Meches, and Palias of that part of the country, who established a kingdom there, is based chiefly on an inscription at Dinajpur stating that a temple was dedicated to Siva by a ruler of Kāmboja race. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the Monghyr grant refers to hostilities between Devapāla's forces and people of Thibet and Bhutan or Himalayan or submontane tribes of Mongolian race; the reference to warhorses being an allusion to the fact that horses or ponies were imported to Bengal from Bhutan and Thibet then, as they are now.

Prāgiyotisha, mentioned in the Bhagalpore grant, is, of course, the capital of the kingdom of Kamrup,* which occupied the site of the modern Gauhati, and Devapāla's political relations with Kamrup may, very possibly,

have been connected with his military operations against the hill tribes to the north-east of Bengal. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prosād Sāstri has brought to notice that, in a religious work entitled *Dharmamangala*, of which two recensions, of the 13th and 17th centuries respectively, have come down to us, it is stated that Kāmrup and Kalinga were conquered for Devapāla by Laosena, the son of his sister-in-law, who ruled at a place called Mayana in Midnapore district. This may perhaps be regarded as some confirmation of the statement in the Bhagalpore grant that Devapāla made a successful expedition against Orissa, of which country Utkala and Kalinga are synonyms, and also of the allusion to Prāgjyotisha in that inscription, although Laosena is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions, and the account given in the *Dharmamangala* is, obviously, in part, at any rate, mythical. The Mahamahopadhyāya also points out that, about the time of Devapāla, Orissa was passing through a revolution. The chiefs of the Somavansi dynasty there were oppressing the Brahmins, who were anxious to overthrow them and bring in the Kesari dynasty. This would have given a favourable opportunity for attack to the Pāla King.

It is not certain who the Hunraja mentioned in the Badal inscription was. The name Huna seems to have been borne at this time by different tribes, no doubt descendants from the Hun invaders of the 5th century, who were settled in Rājputāna and Central India. There is also an interesting, inscription, found at Ghosrāwa near Budh Gaya, which shows that Viradeva, a learned Brahmin, who came from near Jallālabād, in what is now Afghanistan, was educated in the Buddhist faith at the Kanishkavihāra at Peshawar, lived at Ghosrāwa under the patronage of Devapāla, and was subsequently elected by the monks of the great monastery of Nalanda, to be their abbot.

Devapāla was succeeded on the throne by Vighrahapāla I also called Surapāla I, son of Jaypala, who, as mentioned above, may have been either, younger brother or cousin of Devapāla. Of the career of this Vighrahapāla or Surapāla nothing is certainly known, except that, as already mentioned, he married a Kalachuri princess, Lajjadevi, who may have been a daughter of Kokkala, the founder of the Kalachuri or Haihaiya dynasty of Cedi.

He was succeeded by his son Narāyanapāla. There is at Gaya an inscription recording the erection, in the seventh year of Narāyanapāla's reign, by a person named Bhandadeva, of a monastery for Brahmanical ascetics at Gaya. A new edition of this inscription has been published by Babu Rakhaldas Banerji in his work above referred to. Then there is a short inscription on stone, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but found, probably, also at Gaya, or in the neighbourhood, which records the erection of an image in the ninth year of the reign of King Narāyanapāla by a

Buddhist devotee named Dharmamitra. Lastly, we have Narāyanapāla's own grant, already referred to, dated from Monghyr in the 17th year of his reign, which records the donation of a village in Tirabhukti or Tirhut to a temple of Vishnu at a place called Kalasapata in Tirhat.

These inscriptions are of special importance, because we know generally that, about the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century the Pratiharas of Kanauj were pressing on the Pālas of Gauda from the west, and there is evidence, furnished by several inscriptions found at Gaya and in the neighbourhood, that, at some time in his reign, Mahendrapāla, or Mahendrayudha of Kanauj was in possession of some portion of Magadha. On the other hand, the two Gaya inscriptions relating to Narāyanapāla, which I have quoted above, prove that he was in possession of Gaya in the seventh, and, probably, in the ninth year of his reign, while Narāyanapāla's Monghyr grant proves that, in the seventeenth year of his reign, he was in possession, certainly of Monghyr, and probably also of some part of Tirhut. The inscription on the pillar known as the Badal pillar, near Mangalbarihat, on the eastern border of Dinājpur district, shows that it was erected by Guravamisra, Prime Minister of Narāyanapāla, whose father Kedārmisra was minister to Narāyanapāla's father Surapāla or Vigrohapāla I, and whose great-grandfather, Darbhapani, was minister to Devapāla, also that Darbhapani's father, Garga, was minister to Dharmapāla, and that thus the office was held by the same family under the Pāla Kings for four generations.

According to the Pāla genealogies, Narāyanapāla was succeeded by his son Rājyapāla, who married Bhagyadevi, daughter of a Rāshtrakūṭa chief, who had the title of Tunga. Babu Rāmaprasad Chanda surmises that this was Jagattunga, son of Krishna II of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. Nothing more is known of the career of Rājyapāla.

He was succeeded by his son, Gopāla II, with regard to whom some information is furnished by two inscriptions. One found at Borgaon in Patna, the site of the ancient Nalanda, states that an image of the goddess Vagiswari there, was covered with gold-leaf by an anonymous benefactor in the first year of Gopāla's reign. The other inscription, which was found among the ruins of the Mahabodhi temple at Budh Gaya, records the erection of an image of Buddha by a person named Sakrasena during the reign of Gopāla, no date being mentioned.

These two inscriptions afford some evidence that Gaya and Nalanda lay within the dominions of Gopāla II.

The next king of the dynasty was Gopāla's son Vigrahapāla II. There is in the British Museum, a manuscript, which purports to have been written in the 25th year of a king named Vigrahapāla. Babu Rakhaldas

Banerji suggests, I presume on palæographic grounds, that it refers to Vigraphapāla II. If so, it would show that he reigned at least 26 years. We have no other information about him. He was succeeded by his son Mahipāla I. A copper-plate grant by this king found at Banagar in Dinajpur district, recounts that he defeated all his enemies and recovered his father's kingdom.

Mahipāla was the restorer of the fortunes of the Bengal Pāla dynasty, and his accession marks the beginning of what may be called a new chapter in the history of Bengal. It may be convenient, therefore, at this stage, to look back on the course of external events affecting the Pāla kingdom, or Gauḍa, during the period from the death of Dharmapāla to the accession of Mahipāla I.

We have seen that the great Gurjara king Mihirabhoja, or Bhoja I, conquered Kanauj, probably about the middle of the 9th century. This would be during the reign of Dharmapāla of Gauḍa, if we accept Llama Tārānath's account that Dharmapāla reigned for 64 years. If not, it must have been during the reign of either Dharmapāla or Devapāla of Gauḍa. Bhoja I was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla or Mahendrayudha, the certain dates of whose reign, that is to say, the dates fixed by historical evidence as falling within his reign, are 893 and 907 A. D. From Mahendrapāla onwards the names of all the kings of the Parihar dynasty end in Pāla, and it becomes, in certain cases, a matter of difficulty to distinguish them from kings of the Gauḍa or Bengal Pāla dynasty, the same names occurring in several instances in both dynasties. Bhoja I must have died some time before the year 893 A. D. As we have seen, there is evidence that Mahendrapāla added some part of Magadha to his dominions. He was succeeded by his son Bhoja II, who was succeeded by his half-brother Mahipāla. As the certain dates of Mahipāla of Kanauj range from 914 to 917, the reign of Bhoja II must have been completed between 907 and 914 A. D. In the meanwhile, the Chandela kingdom of Jeṣākabhukti, in the modern Bandakhand, and the Kālachuri or Haihaiya dynasty of Cedi, represented by part of the modern Central Provinces, about Jabalpur, had had been rising to power. About the year 831 A. D., during the reign of Dharmapāla, Nannuka Chandel, the founder of the former dynasty, had overthrown a Parihar chieftain, presumably a feudatory of Bhoja I, and become lord of the southern parts of Jeṣākabhukti. There is a difference of opinion as to whether Harsha, a successor of Nannuka, and Kokkala, the founder of the Kālachuri dynasty of Cedi, were contemporaries of Bhoja I or Bhoja II. They were certainly contemporaries of the Rashtrakūṭa King Krishna II, the successor of Amoghavarsha I.

Turning now to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, there is some evidence, in a

Rashtrakūṭa grant of Krishna III, of hostilities having taken place between Krishna II and Gauḍa. Krishna II, whose epigraphic dates range from 902 to 911 A. D., was succeeded by Indra III, who, in the year 916 A. D., during the reign of Mahipāla Parihar, invaded the Gurjara kingdom, crossed the Jumna, and occupied Kanauj. In order to do so, he would probably have had to pass through the territory of Harsha Chandela of Jejakabhukti, who, we find it stated in a grant of his son Yasovarman of the year 954, formed an alliance with the Parihar King Mahipala, whom he helped to recover his kingdom.

What part, if any, was taken by Gauḍa in this contest between the allied Parihars and Chandelas on the one hand, and the Rashtrakūṭa Indra III, on the other, is not clear.

Babu Rakhaldas Banerji quotes from a work entitled *Karnataka Sabdanusāsana* by Bhatta Kalankadeva, according to which Narasingha, a feudatory of Indra III, pursuing the fugitive Mahipala, bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges, and infers that, at that time, the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire extended as far as the Bhāgirathi River, and down to its junction with the sea. He assumes also, on the strength of a Dinājpur inscription, already referred to, that, from the death of Narāyanapala to the accession of Mahipala I of Gauḍa, the whole of Northern Bengal was in possession of Kings of Mongolian race.

This would leave only Central, and possibly, some of Eastern Bengal to the Bengal Pala King of the time. On the other hand, we know that Gopala II of the Bengal Pala dynasty was in possession of some part of Magadha, including probably Nalanda and Gaya. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji surmises that, at the time of the defeat and expulsion of Mahipala Parihar of Kanauj by Indra III Rashtrakūṭa, Gopala II of Gauḍa may have succeeded in recovering Magadha, which may have been lost again to the Gauḍa dynasty, when Mahipala Parihar recovered Kanauj with the help of Harsha Chandela. This theory, however, seems to rest on a somewhat slender foundation.

I am not sure whether the junction of the Ganges referred to in the *Sabdanusāsana* is its junction with the sea or with the Jumna, and, in either case, allowance must perhaps be made for poetic exaggeration. The stone inscription of Yasovarman Chandela, already referred to, the date of which is 954 A. D., describes Yasovarman as a sword to cut the Gauḍas like a creeper, and destroyer of the power of the Mithilas, that is, the people of Tirhut. Another Chandela inscription dated 1002 A. D., refers to an invasion of Anga or south-eastern Bihar and Rāḍa or western Bengal by Yasovarman's successor, Dhanga. From the evidence available, it seems a reasonable supposition that the Chandela dynasty of Jejakabhukti, who had first risen to power in opposition to the Parihars of Kanauj, afterwards formed an

alliance with them against the *Rashtakuṣas*, and that the *Palas* of *Gauḍa*, following their traditional policy, allied themselves with the *Rashtakuṣas* against the *Parihars*, and so came into collision with the *Chandelas*. The reference to the *Mithilas* in *Yasovarman* *Chandela's* inscription just quoted seems to show that, in his time, *Tirhut* either formed part of the dominions of the *Pala* Kings of *Gauḍa*, or was ruled by their feudatories or allies.

Then, as to the *Kamboja* invasion of Northern Bengal. Reference has already been made to an inscription found in the ruins of *Banagar* in *Dinajpur* showing that a temple there was dedicated to *Siva* by a ruler of *Kamboja* race. The date of the dedication is given in the inscription in the form of a chronogram, which probably means the number 888, and this is conjectured to refer to the *Saka* era, which would give the date 966 A. D. It is evident that the *Mongolian* invasion, which resulted in the establishment of the dynasty to which the *Kamboja* King, the dedicator of the temple, belonged, must have occurred some time before. *Bābu Rakhāldās Banerji* argues from the existence of the *Badal* pillar, erected, as its inscription shows, during the reign of *Narayanapāla*, that the whole of Northern Bengal was in the undisputed possession of *Narayanapāla*, and he further concludes, from the *Banagar* temple inscription, that, at the end of the 10th century A. D., the whole of Northern Bengal was in possession of the *Mongolian* Kings. Neither conclusion seems to me to be established with any degree of certainty by the evidence. Although the site of the *Badal* pillar, near *Mangalbari Hat*, and *Banagar*, where the temple inscription referring to the *Kamboja* King was found, are both in the *Dinajpur* district, the two places are separated by a considerable distance—about 25 miles—the former being near the eastern boundary of the district, and the latter near *Gangarampur* police station on the *Purnabhāba* River, about the centre of the district. It is not, therefore, absolutely impossible that the *Kamboja* dynasty may have been already established at *Banagar* at the time of the erection of *Badal* pillar. On the other hand, we have no certain knowledge of the extent of the dominions of the *Kamboja* dynasty in question. The mere attribution of the title *Gauḍeswar* to the *Kamboja* King, who dedicated the temple, does not prove that he ruled over the whole of Northern Bengal, though it may be taken as evidence that his dominions in that part of the country were fairly extensive. *Banagar* seems to have been an important strategic point. At a later period it was the site of a frontier post of the *Muhammadans*, in the earlier stages of their gradual conquest of Bengal. All that can safely be said of the *Banagar* temple inscription is that it proves the existence in Northern Bengal of a *Kamboja* dynasty of kings, whose kingdom included *Banagar*, pointing to an invasion of a tribe or tribes of *Mongolian* race, who may probably have come from *Thibet* or *Bhutan*, and that, if the date of the inscription

has been correctly interpreted, the invasion must have taken place fairly early in the tenth century. It is also clear that the invaders settled down permanently in the country, and that they adopted the Hindu religion. It is neither surprising that such an invasion should have occurred, nor that we should have little certain information about it. Mr. Vincent Smith has remarked that Hindu writers display great unwillingness to dwell on barbarian invasions, and it is natural that such incidents should not be described in detail by the court scribes, who drafted inscriptions.

In an inscription of Mahipala of Gauḍa, it is stated that he recovered the kingdom of his ancestors, which had been usurped and extinguished, which is evidence that, at the time of his accession, the fortunes of his dynasty had fallen low, but we are not sure as to the causes of this. Very probably, it may have been due both to the attacks of Parihar and Chandela enemies from the west, and also to incursions of Mongolian tribes from the North. As I have already said, Bengal was exposed to invasion from Thibet and Bhutan. The latest example of this is the invasion of Koch Bihar by the Bhutanese in the eighteenth century. The Bhutanese practically took possession of Koch Bihar, and controlled the government for some years, but the Maharaja of Koch Bihar appealed to the British for help, which was given, and the Bhutanese were defeated. The latter then turned to the Thibetans for assistance, and, on the Thibetans mediating, a treaty was concluded in 1772, under which Koch Bihar was restored to the Maharaja, who became tributary of the British, but the Bhutanese remained in possession of a considerable extent of flat country along the foot of the hills, till 1865, when it was annexed by the British in the last Bhutan war, and it now forms part of Jalpaiguri district, being known as the Western Duars.

In offering ^{summary} ^{of Kanauj} ^{to} ^{Murā III} ^{Rāshtrakūṭa} ^{cropana} ^{of} ^{Gauḍa} ^{the} ^{supposed} ^{chronology} ^{of} ^{these} ^{earlier} ^{Pāla} ^{Kings} ^{of} ^{Bengal}—a matter regarding which there is still much uncertainty—the annexed table shews side by side the succession of the Gurjara, Pratihara or Parihar Kings, beginning with Vatsa, with the known epigraphic dates of some of them, that is, the dates fixed by inscriptions as having fallen within their reigns; the succession of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kings, beginning with Govinda III, with the epigraphic dates of some of them, and the succession of the Pāla Kings of Bengal beginning from Dharmapāla, with the supposed or conjectural dates,—for it is really a matter of guesswork, in the present state of our knowledge—of the accession of some of them.

Llama Taranāth says that Dharmapāla reigned for 64 years, and Devapāla for 48 years. We also know from an inscription of Narāyanapāla, dated in the 17th year of his reign that he reigned at least 17 years. It will be clear on reference to the table that, if we accept Taranāth's statements as to the duration of the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and take 800 A. D. as the date of Dharmapāla's accession, then the conquest of Kanauj by

the Parihars under Mihira Bhoja may probably have occurred during the reign of Dharmapāla of Gauḍa, any war waged by Devapāla with the Parihars must have been against Mihirabhoja or one of his successors, Mahendrapāla or Bhoja II, and not against Ramabhadra, as supposed by Babu Rakhaldās Banerji, and the defeat and expulsion of Mahipāla Parihar of Kanauj by Indra III Rashtrakuta, which probably took place in 916 A. D., must have occurred either in the reign of Vighrapāla I or Surapāla I of Gauḍa, or in that of Narayanapāla. In that case, too, the accession of Mahipāla I of Gauḍa would probably come somewhat late in the tenth century A. D., three reigns having intervened between Narāyanapāla and him, which would fit in with the theory that he succeeded in ousting from Northern Bengal a Kambojan dynasty, by whom a temple was dedicated in the Dinajpur district in 966 A. D.

On the other hand, it is somewhat improbable, though not, of course, impossible, that two successive Kings, father and son, should have had such long reigns as 64 years and 48 years respectively, and this improbability may perhaps have led Babu Rakhaldās Bennerji to reject the statements of Taranath referred to. Rejecting them, we have it still established by inscriptions that Dharmapāla reigned for at least 32, and Devapāla for at least 33 years, and we may thus adopt the alternative dates for the Bengal Pala Kings shown in the table, and suppose, with Babu Rakhaldās Banerji, that Devapāla of Gauḍa was contemporary of Ramabhadra Parihar, and Narāyanapāla of Bhoja I. This would still make it fairly probable that Mahipāla I of Gauḍa succeeded to the throne late in the 10th century A. D., especially if we suppose, on the strength of the manuscript in the British Museum, to which reference has been made, that Vighrapāla II of Gauḍa reigned at least 26 years.

Pālas of Bengal.	Probable approximate date of accession. A. D.	Pratihāras or Parihārs.	Epigraphic Dates. A. D.	Rāshtrakutas.	Epigraphic Dates. A. D.
Dharmapāla	800	Vatsa	...	Govinda III	794-813.
Devapāla	864 or 840	Nāgabhatta Ramabhadra	...	Amoghavarsha I	817-877.
Vighrapāla I or Surapāla I	912 or 880	Mihirabhoja or Bhoja I	843	Krisnna II or Krisnnavallabha	902-911.
Narāyanapāla	...	Mahendrapāla or Mahendrāyudha	893-907	Indra III.	914-916.
Rājapāla	936 or 900	Bhoja II	907-914		
Gopāla II	...	Mahipāla	917		
Vighrapāla II	940				

E. J. MONAHAN.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

THE following document I believe has been removed from the Collector's Record Room at Chittagong and sent for preservation and exhibition to the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta :—

To JOHN REED, Esq., Collector of Chittagong.

FORT WILLIAM,
18th November 1773

SIR,

We transmit inclosed, agreeable to the annexed List twelve warrants from the Nabob upon the Judgment of the Nizamat Adawlut for the punishment of criminals in Chittagong. These you will deliver to the officers of the Fawzdari Adawlut in order that they may be carried into immediate execution.

We are,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

WARREN HASTINGS.

W. ALDERSEY.

P. M. DACRES.

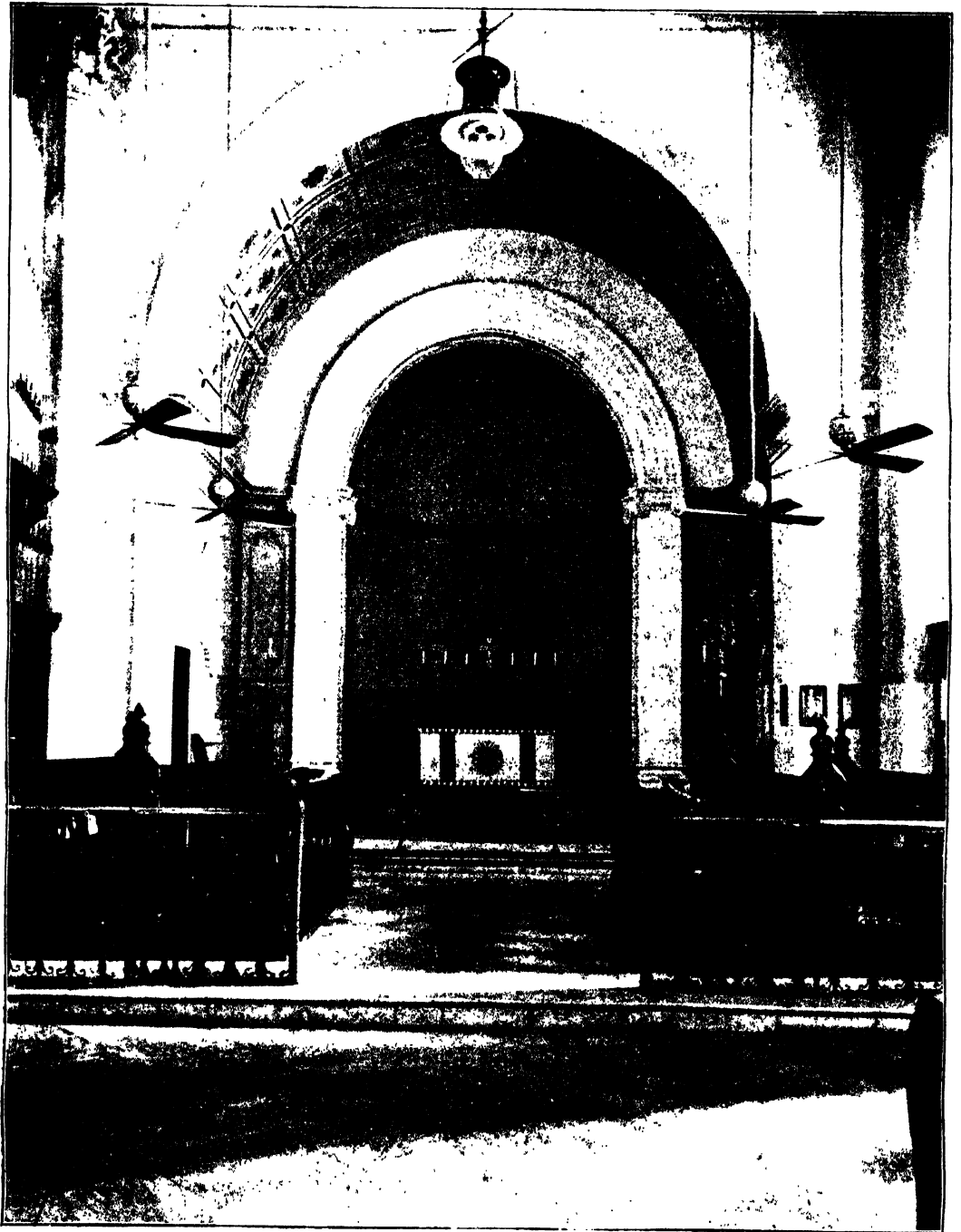
JAMES LAWRELL.

J. GRAHAM.

GEORGE VANSITTART.

ABSTRACT OF THE NABOB'S WARRANTS.

<i>Prisoner's Name.</i>	<i>Crime.</i>	<i>Judgment.</i>	<i>Sentence.</i>
Toofanee ...	Decoyting.	Guilty.	To be confined in chains for three years.
Dhun Mangee ...			
Herrea ...			
Mahtab ...	Decoyting and murder	Guilty.	Death.
Heera ...	Theft and an attempt at murder.	Guilty.	Fifty strokes of the Corah and to be set at liberty.
Luckun. ...	Decoyting and murder.	Guilty.	Death.
Dacia ...	Ditto.	do.	Guilty.
Kooresh ...			
Chandgorolah ...	Decoyting and murder.	Guilty.	Three years imprisonment.
Buneha ...			
Tarak ...			
Attak ...			
Durpall ...			



St. JOHN'S CHURCH: CALCUTTA.
SHOWING THE NEW APSE.

(Note. The black tablet shown in the floor before the altar railings marks the burial place of Bishop Middleton.)

<i>Prisoner's Name.</i>	<i>Crime.</i>	<i>Judgment.</i>	<i>Sentence.</i>
Noanee ...	Decoyting and murder.	Guilty	Death.
Newazee ...	House breaking.	Not guilty.	To be released.
Lovdea ...			
Mun Razee ...	Decoyting.	Guilty.	Right hand and left foot to be cut off.
Roostum ...	Do.	Not guilty.	To be released.
Afzul Cawn ...	Manslaughter.	Guilty.	To be fined.
Mahomed Yazem.	House-breaking	Guilty.	50 strokes of the Corah and to be set at liberty.
Futteh Mahomed.			
Ameer Mahomed.			
Taker ...			
Shoni Mahomed.			
Dhamun ...			
Jewgee ...			
Charnd ...			
Yacoob ...	Decoyting.	Ditto	Right hand and left foot to be cut off.

It does not appear that the Government of India has of late years has had occasion to complain of extravagance on the part of the junior members of the Civil Service, but the following notification perhaps should not be lost sight of:—

To all the Gentlemen Writers
in the Company's Service.

FORT WILLIAM,
9th November 1767.

GENTLEMEN,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the President and Council to acquaint you that the undermentioned extracts from the proceedings of the Committee of Inspection are entirely approved of by them, and that they expect an implicit obedience be paid to the directions therein contained.

I am, etc.,
SIMEON DROZ,
Secretary.

VIZT.

With respect to the servants necessary to be kept by a writer without a family, the Committee are of opinion that he should be allowed two and a cook; one for the immediate care of his house

and charge of his effects, and another to attend him when he goes out or to assist in the charge of his effects and house in case of sickness of the other

- 2nd. It is recommended that an order be issued that no writer shall be allowed to keep a horse without the express permission of the Governor and be permitted either of himself or jointly with others to keep a garden house.
- 3rd. It is further recommended that the writers be enjoined to wear no other than plain cloathes.

True extracts.

SIMEON DROZ,
Secretary.

Colonel Alexander Dow, as a person of considerable interest, is honoured by an article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I have recently discovered that he and John Stables formed part of the "Meckley" [*i.e.*, Manipur] expedition of 1761. The following extract from the Dacca Factory Records (so-called) is worth keeping in view:—

DACCA,
November 1763.

Wednesday 9th. At a Council, Present. John Cartier, Esq., Chief, Ralph Leycester, Esq., and Mr. Thomas French.

The consultation of the 1st instant being read was approved and signed. In consequence of our address of the 2nd instant to the Hon'ble Board representing the unsettled and confused state of the Kungpore Province, and the Government there still holding out against the Nabob Meer Jaffer, likewise imprisoning them of the confinement of Mr. Moore, an English agent; we have been favored with their orders this day, which are: that we send a detachment of troops into that country to seize the Phousdar if possible, and to subdue it in the name of the Nabob Meer Jaffer. Agreed that Lieutenant Dow, with four Companies of seapoys, with a Howitz, be appointed for this Service, and that a sufficient number of boats for the embarkation of the troops be provided with all expedition, and that a sum of money amounting to ten thousand rupees be lodged in the hands of Mr. Dow, for pay and batta to the troops and other contingent charges; and that the order be given to Mr. Dow to the purport of the Hon'ble Board's Letter, *viz.*, that the command he is now trusted with is with the following views; to subdue the country and to restore peace and tranquility by fixing the

officer appointed to act by the Nabob as Phousdar in his full power and authority; to release whatever English gentlemen may be in confinement, and to seize the person of the late Phouzdar. All of which being effected, he be ordered to return with his detachment to Dacca.

And now to return to the "Meckley" or Manipur Expedition. It belongs to the period when Harry Verelst, subsequently Governor at Fort William, was Chief of Chittagong (1761-63). Little, or practically nothing at all, in reference to this expedition has transpired. I gather that it was under the command of Archibald Swinton, for whose personal history the reader should consult my Notes in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. II, pp. 238-39. A. Dalrymple in the second volume of his *Oriental Repertory* (London, 1808) gives an account of "Meckley" which he describes as "from my friend Mr. Orme's MSS, though brief, is the most circumstantial I have seen of that country, a few notes have been added from my friend Captain Archibald Swinton, who flatters me with the hopes that he shall be able to give some further account from his papers, which are in Scotland." The account is by one "Nerher Dass Gossain Fukeer," who in September 1762, in company with a Subadar and seapoys, was despatched by Swinton "in order to confirm, or detect the falsity of the strange account of Meckley by Huree Dass Gossain." The writer evidently had formed the idea that the Brahmaputra sends a branch through the Meckley country into the Burmah country.

In my Notes in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XII, pp. 102-105, I described the principal changes that have been effected in the building of St. John's Church since the date of its Consecration in 1789 to the year 1863 when a chancel was added. Since the date of writing some further changes have been made: (1) The eastern wall has been taken down, and an apse has been thrown out; the chancel being thereby enlarged. (2) The western gallery has been removed, the quaint "geometrical" stair cases being, however, retained. The lovely Colvin monument (with the famous figure of the seated Indian woman), and John Adam monument have been removed and placed on either side of the enlarged entrance to the Church at the west end. So soon as funds are available, the former east window will be inserted at the east end of the southern aisle. It is hoped that some day it will be possible to cover the interior of the new apse with glass-mosaic work, and one of the most eminent of English architects has already submitted a scheme. St. John's Church is intimately connected with the family history of so many distinguished public servants in India that it cannot be

doubted that this note will be of some interest to many of our readers in England. The Chaplains will gladly receive donations in order to enable them to complete the work.

The following interesting note appeared in the *Statesman* of 2nd January 1917:—

“A party of members of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, headed by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, has unearthed the remains of a large fifteenth century mosque at Mahisantosh, three miles to the south of Balurghat in the district of Dinajpur. A stone inscription preserved in the well known *Darga* of Mahisantosh tells us that a mosque was built by a nobleman in the reign of King Barbak Shah, of Gaur, in the year 1461 A.D. about 200 yards to the south-east of the *Darga* was a jungle-covered mound which was popularly known as *Burdwari*,—the house with 12 doors. A few stones and pillars were visible on this mound. Babu Devendragati Ray, a member of the Society, first dug out parts of the two of these pillars and a prayer niche, and invited the Society to excavate the mound systematically. As a result of the excavation carried on during the Christmas holidays, the Society has unearthed the remains of a mosque which is evidently the mosque referred to in the inscription now preserved in the *Darga*. It was 80 feet 3 inches by 52 feet 8 inches outside, with an octagonal tower at each corner, and walls 6 feet 10 inches thick. The mosque had eleven and not twelve openings. The pulpit and the five prayer niches were made of beautifully carved stone. A short inscription on two of the stone pillars written in fifteenth century script discloses the name of the temple-builder. In their excavation and exploration work the members of the Society have been greatly assisted by Maulvi Abdul Aziz, B.A., the Sub-Divisional Officer of Balurghat, Babu Nalini Kanta Adhikary, B.L., Babu Sheshprakash Sanyal, and the indefatigable Babu Devendragati Ray, and their staff, and other representatives of the zamindars of the sub-division. The Society will request Dr. Spooner, Superintendent of Archæology, Eastern Circle, to make arrangements for the preservation of what still remains of the mosque.”

In Volume III of *Bengal : Past & Present* will be found (pp. 326-341) an account of the delightful visit paid by the Society to Pandua and Burdwan in the year 1909. Opposite to p. 336 will be found a photograph by Mr. C. F. Hooper of Shir Afghan's tomb at Burdwan. Maulavi Abdul Wali

in a paper on the antiquities of Burdwan, read on the 3rd of January before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, now tells us : " as the body of Qutub-Din was removed to Fathpur Sikri by order of Emperor Jahangir, his tomb at the courtyard of Pir Bahram's Shrine could not be genuine." Was the body of Shir Afghan left undisturbed ? The Maulavi pointed out in his paper that " the inscribed slabs of Pir Bahram Saqqa's tomb now fixed into one of the walls of the same have been deciphered and translated. The date of Bahram Saqqa's death has been correctly shown to be 970 H.=1562-63 A. D. and not 982 as published by Blochmann." I may point out that an English translation of the tablets, with the correct date, appears on p. 332 of Vol. III *Bengal : Past & Present*. We missed an opportunity of seeing the Jami Masjid built in 1699-1700 A. D. by order of Sultan Azimush-Shan.

At the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to which we have referred, Maulavi Abdul Wali read papers on some of places of interest, one of which is Bhitargarh in the Hughli district. A description of this place was given by Colonel Crawford in *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. II, pp. 294-97. (Please correct error as to reference in the Consolidated Index). The following resume of the Maulavi's paper is of interest:—

It has hitherto been believed that the inscribed slab on Shah Ismail Ghazi's tomb at Bhitargarh contained an account of warfare between two Rajas, one of whom built the tomb. The author has shown from the inscription that this was not so. The inscribed slab was either fixed or intended to be fixed over one of the triumphal gateways and was removed after it had fallen or pulled down. The inscription shows that it was inscribed in 900 H.=1494-95 A. D., during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Abul Muzaffar Husayn Shah. Correct texts of inscriptions on both the gateways at Shanbandi or Mubarak Munzil show that they were constructed in 1142 and 1143 H., respectively by order of Nawab Shujaud-Daula on his accession to the throne of Bengal after the great Murshid Quli Jaffar Khan in 1139 H.; but according to Blochmann's text of one of the inscriptions, the former gateway was constructed in 1136 H., which is impossible. This mistake has been continued in the official Gazetteer of Hugli.

The following extract from a lecture on old Calcutta delivered many years ago by Mr. R. C. Sterndale should be placed on record. There may seem to be a mistake about Peter Amyatt for Amyatt was massacred while

on an embassy to Mir Kasim in 1763, but at that time it was the custom to be dismissed from the Company's service and yet to remain in employment :—

There was another direction in which the Company's officers secured valuable property to themselves and their heirs or assigns, to the undoubted loss of the Government, and this was in the appropriation of the town lands at nominal rates of rent. The grant of perpetual leases was in the hands of the Collector, and a reference to the original leases, which are still preserved in the Calcutta Collectorate, will show that nearly every one who held office in those days secured valuable plots of land for himself or his friends. One or two examples will suffice to illustrate this. In 1761, Peter Amyatt, at that time Collector of Calcutta, afterwards Chief at Patna and Benares, and eventually dismissed the service, allotted to himself 285 biggahs of land in the parish of Chitpore at a rent annually of less than one rupee per biggah; while Mr. George Vansittart obtained about 632 biggahs of ground in the Dhee Birjee—that is, the block now lying between Middleton and Short Streets, Chowringhee and in Circular Road. A portion of this he afterwards sold to Mr. Short. The rent was Rs. 789 per annum, redeemable at fifteen years' purchase, say, Rs. 12,000 for the entire holding. But the present value is not less than one-and-a-half millions of rupees. Even at the day, Clive, who did all he could to check the rapacity of his colleagues and subordinates, saw what was going on, for he says "he had reason to believe that great injustice was being done to the Company, and that if the gentlemen who parcelled the lands among themselves did not acquire large advantages, it is certain that the servants acting under them did. He further notes that he finds that the Calcutta lands may in a short time be made capable of yielding to the Company between fourteen and fifteen lakhs per annum. If that be the case how reprehensible is the conduct of those gentlemen who so shamefully neglected the interests of their employers." At that time the Company's rent-roll for the Calcutta lands was Rs. 17,745 only.

The following extract from General Letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 11th February 1756, throws some light on the practically unknown history of Northern Calcutta :—

Para 65.—We observe you have made a purchase of the Seats* of a

* The Seths—not belonging to the famous banking house, but the well-known Seths of Calcutta who were weavers. They and the Bysacks were the earliest settlers of this city.

Compound and some godowns for the sum of four thousand nine hundred Current Rupees, which as you represent to be very commodious for Warehouses and Magazines. We must presume to be a necessary and good bargain. It appears also you were in Treaty to *Rent a Spot of Ground called Similia*, for the sum of two thousand two hundred and eighty-one Current Rupees, and as for the reasons you give it seems to be necessary and advantageous to the settlement. We shall leave it to you to compleat the bargain if it is not already done.

From the recently issued Part I of the Annual Report, 1914-15, of the Archæological Survey, we learn with pleasure that the Gunrant mosque at Gaur is to receive adequate attention. The Report shows that some very great improvements has been effected in connection with Ser Shah's tomb at Sassaram. It used to be quite a puzzle to find one's way into the building. Hundreds of Calcutta folk pass by Sassaram—the "loyal city"—every year on their way to or from Mussoorie, and perhaps hardly half-a-dozen even so much as look out of the window to catch a fleeting glimpse of one of the noblest monuments in India—the colossal domed mausoleum of the great Ser Shah. How many Calcutta people realise that in the Indian Museum in Chowringhi we have some of the most interesting stone-carvings of antiquity—the fragments of the Barhut Stupa?

From a note by my friend Mr. S. C. Sanial, I learn that the artist Zoffany arrived at Kedgerie on the 11th of September 1783 on the *Lord Macartney*. This date puts out of all question the fable that Zoffany painted a portrait of Madame Grand, for that Lady left India in December 1780. On December 3rd, 1783, Sir Elijah Impey left Calcutta. So the portrait of the Chief Justice, preserved at the High Court, must have been one of Zoffany's earliest works in this place. It is a curious fact that Impey, who arrived in England in June 1784, remained Chief Justice of Bengal until his resignation was accepted in November 1787. The date alleged to be affixed to Zoffany's portrait of Impey "1782" cannot be accurate.

In the instalment of the Barwell Letters given in our last number there is (see above p. 101) an "Account of Maharajah Nund Comar." Sir James Stephen, in his *Story of Nuncomar and Sir Elijah Impey*, regarded this account as Barwell's own work. To me it seems clear that the Account is either a translation from Persian, or the work of one whose native tongue was not English. It has been suggested that the "account" is the work of either the Author or the Translator of the *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*.

The establishment of the Bengal Historical Record-Room is an event of which no public mention has been made, but it is one which is likely to benefit in the highest degree the cause of research. Had the contents of the records been made available years ago the public would perhaps have been spared a good deal of the pernicious sort of nonsense which has too long passed for historical learning. The Record-Room has now published three volumes of its press list. Volume I gives an abstract of the proceedings of the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue at Fort William from April, 1771 to October 1772: Volume II the proceedings of the Committee of Circuit; Volume III, the proceedings of the whole Council from 13th October to 30th December 1774. The latter volume is a very rich quarry of historical materials, and the excellent index at the end will enable the student to make the best use of what has been provided for him. In addition to the volumes of the press list, the Record-Room have issued the following volumes* edited by the present writer:—

Proceedings of the Select Committee, 1758.

Midnapur, Volume I	...	...	1763—1767
Ditto, „ II	...	...	1768—1770
Rangpur, „ I	...	...	1770—1779
Dinajpur, „ I	...	...	1787—1789

A second volume of Rangpur papers is ready for the press. And here I may perhaps be allowed to say that the Government of Assam are very kindly enabling me to complete the publication of the Sylhet District Records, the first volume of which appeared in 1914.† A whole chapter of accidents might be recorded in regard to the printing of these last papers, for I had to take my furlough in 1911 when the work of printing was well in hand, and, during my absence, the changes in the East Bengal and Assam Administration led to a disaster in the press so far as my own work was concerned. During my furlough I was able to get a copy made of the Consultation Books of the Malda Factory, 1680-82. This is now in course of publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I should like to follow up the Malda Consultation Books by those of Calcutta for the period immediately following Job Charnock's return in 1690. The copying of these older books requires the hand of an expert, and it is, therefore, somewhat costly, but I am informed that the cost of the copying of the Calcutta books for the period mentioned would not exceed one hundred rupees.

January 1917.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

* Obtainable through Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., Esplanade East, Calcutta.

† Obtainable from the Assam Secretariat Book Room, Shillong, Assam.



THE ARMENIAN CHURCH AT DACCA.

The Armenian Church of the Holy Resurrection, Dacca.*

A NOTE BY THE REV. S. T. SARKIES TRANSLATED BY THE REV G. JOHANNES.

IT is not known at what date the Armenians at Dacca first constructed a chapel. In 1781 they built the present church (on the site of the chapel) and it bears the following inscription on the front of the Sanctuary:— "This temple (or tabernacle) was built in 1781." It is handed down by tradition that the following four gentlemen defrayed the cost of the building *viz.*, Michael Sarkies, Astvatsatoor Gevorg, Aga Emniaz and Markar Pogose. The ground (site) was presented by Aga Minas Catchick.

The church is cruciform and without pillars. The walls are wide and solid, and the roof is flat, supported by wooden beams. The length of the church is 88 ft. the breadth 19 ft. and the height 27½ ft. The church has four doors and 27 windows (wooden or with glass panes). It has a gallery, which is reached by means of a wooden spiral staircase. Next to the western gate stands a massive belfry of about 86 feet in height, with 5 large bells. There was formerly a clock tower built by Johannes Carapiet Sarkies, facing the west end of the church, but this tower came down in the earthquake of 1897. The altar piece is composed of two pictures, representing the Lord's Supper and the Crucifixion, painted by C. Pote in 1849.

In the interior of the church there are six tombstones, the inscriptions on which are as follows:—

- I. This is the tomb of Soope (Sofia) the wife of Aga Catchick, the son of Emniaz Minasian of Julfa, October 28, 1764.
- II. This is the tomb of Khatai, the wife of Aga Hovhan (Owen), the son of Aga Emniaz of Julfa, who departed this life on the 18th September, 1766.
- III. This is the tomb of Dishkhon, the daughter of Hovhan, the son of Aga Emniaz Minasian, who departed this life in 1765.
- IV. Sacred to the memory of Arratoon Michael, Esq., who departed this life the 2nd of April, 1823. Aged 49 years.
- V. Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Susan Catchick Sethagasee, the only daughter of the late Arratoon Michael, Esq., who departed this life the 17th of March, 1827. Aged 29 years.

* An article on the Church of St. Nazareth in Calcutta is in preparation.

- VI. Sacred to the memory of Nicholas Margar Pogose, Esq., who departed this life the 7th of December, 1829. Aged 62 years.

TOMBSTONES ON THE SOUTH-EAST OF THE CHURCH.

- I. This is the tomb of Gooltatick, the daughter of Parsadan of Erivan (a parish of Julfa) and wife of Michael, August 21st, 1762.
 II. This is the tomb of Ripsima, the daughter of Owen Khoja Minasian. September 2, 1763.

TOMBSTONES IN THE PORCH.

- I. "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world, again I leave the world, and go to the Father". Hovsep (Joseph) Varthapiet of All Saviour's Monastery of Julfa was sent as an envoy to India, and, when, having discharged his duties, he intends returning to the monastery, death suddenly overtakes him, on October 8, 1824.
 II. Sacred to the memory of His Grace Paul, Archbishop of the Armenian Church, who departed this life on the 24th of September, 1834. Aged about 55 years.

The church has a brass basin, which bears the following inscription :—

"In memory of Paten Lazar, the son of the late Grigor of Shoroth November 10, 1769"

INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMBSTONES OF ARMENIANS (7 ONLY) IN THE
 TEGGAON CEMETERY OF OUR LADY OF THE ROSARY, 5 MILES DISTANT
 FROM DACCA.

- I. This is the tomb and resting place of Avictis the merchant, who was the son of Lazar of Erivan, whom may Christ at His Second Advent find worthy of His presence. In the year 1714 August 15.
 II. This is the tomb of Arakiel, the son of Catchick, who departed this life on the 8th of June, 1722.
 III. This is the tomb of Apcar, the son of Balthazar of Julfa, who departed to the upper world. He was a merchant for many years and died at an advanced age on the 14th June 1736.
 IV. This is the tomb of Michael, the son of Gricor of the family of Khoja Minas of Julfa, who departed this life in the prime of youth, in the year 1740.
 V. This is the tomb of the merchant Khoja Thomanian, the son of Bagdè of Akoolis (*a town in Trans-Caucasia*) who departed to the upper world on the 9th August, 1746.
 VI. This is the tomb of Michael, the son of Gabriel Barikian, who departed this life in the year 1781.

VII. In this earthly and blessed sepulchre is deposited the body of Petros Matthevosian, who was an upright merchant, a native of the town of Hamadan. Death overtook him in his old age, and being a sojourner at Dacca, he departed from this transitory world to life eternal on the 3rd of Feb. (O.S.) 1791. May he be worthy of Heaven !

INSCRIPTION ON STEEPLE.

This magnificent (or fine) steeple was founded and erected by the means of, and at the expense, of Johannes Carapiet Sarkies, Esq., son of the late Carapiet Sarkies, Esq., to the honour and glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in remembrance of all his ancestors of happy and blessed memory, in the month of July 1837, in the ancient capital of Dacca.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

In regard to the "Varthapiet of All Saviour's Monastery of Jutta," the following explanation is drawn from Malachia Ormanian's *The Church of Armenia* (p. 116) : "The doctorate of theology, or rank of *vardapet*, is invested with the form of an order. It is divided into two classes : the minor or particular doctorate (*masnavor*), and the major or supreme doctorate (*dzairakoun*), which enjoys privileges equivalent to those of the episcopate. Doctorates can only be conferred by the Bishops, who are themselves invested with the supreme doctorats.

Charles Pote, the Anglo-Indian artist, referred to above, seems to have been a son of Edward Ephraim Pote, Senior Merchant in the Company's service. An interesting biographical note on E. E. Pote by the late Mr. William Irvine will be found in *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. VI, pp. 174-76. Charles and Philip Pote were baptised at Berhampore on the 8th June, 1794 by the Rev. Roberts Carr, but the names of these two sons do not appear in the list of children of E. E. Pote compiled by Mr. Irvine from the Baptismal Registers in the Estates and Wills Department of the India Office.

In the Eastern Bengal *District Gazetteer for Dacca* 1912 (p. 69) it is stated that the Roman Catholic (Portuguese) Church at Tezgaon "was originally erected in 1679 and rebuilt in its present form in 1714."

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

Padre Maestro Fray Seb. Manrique in Arakan (1629=1635).

*Translated by F. COTTA. **

Annotated and Edited by the Rev. H. HOSTEN, S. J.

CHAPTER X.

HOW I LEFT BENGALA FOR THE KINGDOM OF ARACAN.

[*Continued.*]

P. 34, Col. 1. **T**HE lands of the Ugulim are over three hundred leagues distant from those of Aracan. But, as we were travelling by the Ganges and in *bellas*,⁶ which are very swift boats, our Lord was pleased that we should reach the port of Dianga in fourteen days.⁷ Father Fray Domingos de la Purificacion was there then, as Vicar de la vara ordinary of all those regions.⁸ Learning hence that a Religious had arrived, he came to meet me at the port, and was so highly pleased at finding that I was a Religious of the same Religion [himself] that he threw his arms round my neck, and was for a good while unable to speak to me, owing to the copious tears that he was shedding. When his emotion had subsided, he said to me: / "Father and dearly beloved brother, be most welcome; for the last seven years I have not seen either a Religious or a Priest; and now God our Lord in His divine and infinite mercy has granted me what I so earnestly desired."

Col. 2.

The reason why the Father had been for so long a time comparatively, was that great wars had taken place, owing to which one could not come over without great peril to life, or, under the most favourable circumstances, without being made a prisoner. To this impediment there was added another no smaller, a contagious disease that was raging in these lands, and owing to which numberless people perished, including three of our Religious, who were distributed over those parts.

Father fray Domingos saw at once to my landing, and we repaired to the Church and Residence, which our Religion owns there.⁹ And immediately

* The chapters of Manrique now published have been translated by my friend Mr. F. Cotta. I revised his work carefully, and I only regret that the present state of my health does not allow me to annotate it as lavishly as the part hitherto published. Manrique's travels in Arakan are especially difficult to annotate: they place us before a new language, and in a geographical milieu, which only a scholar acquainted with the country could thoroughly cope with. Such as they are, we trust that these pages will prove attractive reading.

he sent a message to the Governor of the land, that another Religious had arrived. For reasons that I have already pointed out, the Governor was very much pleased with this news, and in the evening had me visited with an adieu, or present, of various birds and fruits, and he despatched at once a courier to the King with the tidings, for it is the custom to advise the King at once of the arrival of any Portuguese.¹⁰

P. 35, Col. 1.

These things of my entry and arrival being over, the Father, finding time, read the letters which the Father Provincial of India had written to him. He found in them orders // enabling him to go to Goa, when he would have instructed me in the practices of those countries, and when Father Fray Manuel de la Concepcion would have arrived.¹¹ The latter was coming to serve with me in those Missions, until orders came to send two other Religious. When, after some days, Father fray Manuel arrived, Father fray Domingos sought orders to depart, which he very much desired in order to cure himself of some fits which assailed him, caused by some urinary trouble, and which, when on, brought him to the brink of death. On account of this, his departure took place quicker than I should have liked.

Col. 2.

We were left very disconsolate, specially I. In addition to an interior unrest there came upon me a melancholy so extraordinary that, in spite of my best efforts, I was unable to conceal it, so that I myself was astonished at so novel an experience in me. On the other hand, the enemy of mankind represented to me how far I was from my country, fathers and brothers, and that I should see them no more, if I lived in those remote lands. Finding myself tormented thus, I sought the true remedy, having recourse to the divine help, and imploring our Lord to console me and to dispose of me to the best for His holy service. At once there came to my memory / that divine sentence of St. Jerome: *Per calcatum perge Patrem, per calcatam perge Matrem ut sequaris Christum.* [If you want to follow Christ, step over your father and mother, and go]. This interior admonition very much consoled me, and I said to myself that it was not a mere chance, but that it was meant for me, as the trials that overtook me within less than a month proved.

The first, and the one which caused me most pain and sadness, was the death of Father fray Manuel de la Concepcion, my companion, who within less than fifteen days gave up the ghost to his divine Creator. There were serious indications that he had been poisoned by certain Gentiles, who lived at a short distance from the Church. It so happened that, while I was away, at a distance of three leagues, in the Bandel, or town (*villa*) of Angaracale, where we have another Church with its residence,¹² these Gentiles wanted to make a feast to one of their Idols in thanksgiving for some good news; and, in order to decorate the Pagode, or house of their Idol,¹³ they went to the houses of some Christians, natives of the soil, and asked for the loan of carpets

P. 36, Col. 1.

silk draperies and other ornamental articles, with which to adorn the Idol and its house. Hearing of these things, Father fray Manuel, moved by his zeal for the honour of God, prevented with the utmost diligence the said Christians from lending anything. He showed to them that they were not allowed to do it, for the honour that was due to God alone could not be given to the devil, // the same God and Master manifesting to us His will, when He says: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*. [I will not give my glory to another].¹⁴

Col. 2.

The death of the servant of God was much felt by the Christians of those parts, both because of the void that it created, and because he was a very good religious, and well versed in the Bengala tongue. Some Christians wanted to mitigate this sorrow by killing two Gentiles, and it would have been very easy for them to carry this plan into execution, had I not prevented them, both because such vengeance is not lawful, and because there were not sufficient grounds for the suspicions. And, if there were, and legal proceedings were taken, the Mogo Governor¹⁵ would very easily have them // impaled. These reasons quieted them and the matter did not proceed further.

The unexpected death of the Father, my companion, threw me into great affliction, as I was running the risk of not having another so soon. It happened so indeed: for, nineteen months elapsed before two other Religious arrived.¹⁶ Meanwhile, I was visited with the troubles which I shall relate in the following chapter. Throughout, though I had no human help, yet the chief, that is the divine assistance, was not wanting, whereby God in His mercy delivered me from many dangers, spiritual and temporal.

CHAPTER XI.

IN WHICH IS RELATED THE ORIGIN OF THE PERSECUTION THAT WAS
RAISED AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS RESIDING IN THE KINGDOM
OF CHATIGAN, SUBJECT TO THAT OF ARRACAN.

Col. 1,
*infra*Col. 2,
infra

P. 37, Col. 1.

By the death of the King of Chatigan, the second son of Nalamixà, second of that name, King of Arracan, that Kingdom was left without succession.¹ The Mogo Monarch decided, then, to provide for the Government of that Kingdom, // as for one subject to his Empire. So, he sent as Governor of the said Kingdom a Mogo chief—I forget his name—who tried his utmost to obtain this governorship, solely to revenge himself on the Portuguese, for whom he had the greatest hatred. His reason was that he had been // their prisoner and captive in the Empire of Pegù, in the time of Phelipe de Britto,² whom the natives called the *Chanà* which means great Captain.³

As soon as the Mogo Governor arrived at Chatigan, the Portuguese Captains, who were there in the service of his Majesty of Arracan, defending that frontier against the assaults and power of the Great Mogol, went to pay him a visit. The Captains told me that, as it was the custom, my presence was necessary at this visit, and so they forced me to accompany them. The Governor, to make a show of his joy in receiving us, sent the Elephants of his guard and many festive instruments to welcome us at the entrance to the city.⁴ And, when we arrived in his presence, he made a great display of his pleasure, saying that, with the help of God and of the Portuguese, he hoped to gain great victories over the enemy, and to obtain thereby the favour of his King and Master. He invited us then to supper and entertained us with various musical instruments till supper-time, when we were treated to a sumptuous banquet, that lasted the greater part of the night, with marked demonstrations of joy and good-will throughout.

Col. 2.

The banquet, followed by various dances and feastings, being over, we took our leave, and went to the city of Dianga, where we dwelt much pleased, hoping that, after such evidences of kindness, the Governor would think only of remaining on friendly terms with the Portuguese. But the events that followed proved that our good faith had been very much misplaced. For, thinking he had pleased the Portuguese to the extent that they did not suspect any ill-will from him, the Governor started immediately to machinate their destruction, both to satisfy his desire of vengeance, and to be able, with greater safety for himself, to usurp the Kingdom of Chatigan. So, knowing well the loyalty of the Portuguese, who would not consent to such wickedness, even should they to a man have to pay for it with their lives, he set about devising means of undoing them.

The one which he found most convenient was to fabricate letters from the Portuguese, and from the Bengalas residing in the territory of Sacassalâ,⁵ the greater number of whom were in the service of the Portuguese Geliâs. The letters were to the effect that both, by mutual consent, had offered to the Nababo, or Viceroy of Daack, a safe entry into that Kingdom, if he came during the whole of the ensuing month of August. He forged also a reply [Aug. 1630.] from the said Nababo to the Portuguese of Dianga, in which he offered them, in the name of the Great Mogol, the greatest gifts and honours, and stated that, during the whole of the Moon of August, he would be in the port of Patangâ⁶ // with a suitable fleet. He then sent these letters to the King, urging immediate counter-measures, as otherwise the Portuguese might land in Arracan, seize his own treasures, and make over the lands to the Mogol.

P. 38, Col. 1.

This news reached the Court by the end of May, the beginning of the [May 1630.] winter in those parts. Immediately, the King ordered the Corangari—a a title which among us corresponds to that of Commander-in-Chief of the

Fleet and the Army⁷—to prepare five hundred Geliàs and forty Galliot, and, making with all haste for the port of Dianga, to take the Portuguese by surprise and capture them all. If unable to do so, he was to besiege them with the greatest number of people available, making over the Fleet to the Governor of Ramu.⁸

The Christians residing in Arracan,⁹ having come to know of all these preparations, thought it a very unusual thing for a fleet to be sent at that time to Dianga. And, as the measure could not then be directed against either the Mogol¹⁰ or the Asaranja,¹¹ as besides they did not on the occasion take with them any Christians, in whom consisted the chief force of the Fleet, they became very suspicious. Some tried to find out what it all meant by means of their wives, who had ingress to, and friendship in, the palaces of the Queens.¹² And, as women are generally unable to keep a secret, chiefly among themselves, they found out the reason why a fleet was being sent at that time with such haste, and, coming home, they told their husbands what was going on.

Col. 2.

The latter held immediately a meeting at the house of their Captain, and decided to despatch at once an express courier with two letters, one for the father Vicar, the other for the Portuguese Captains. And, as the bearer was a Christian, and they had informed him what the matter was about, he came flying through the air, without minding the difficulties of the route. Having set out from Arracan on the nineteenth of June, he reached Dianga on the last day of the same month: an extraordinary performance in the winter season, the journey covering over ninety leagues through most rough mountains and endless marshes.

[19 June
1630.]
[30 June
1630]

As soon as the Courier reached Dianga, he came straight to the Church and Residence, where I was. On hearing from the letters what was going on, I became very much perplexed, chiefly considering that the Portuguese Captains had gone with the fleet against the Kingdom of Jassor¹³ and were not expected to return before another thirty or forty days. Moreover, one of the chief Captains, Bartolome Gonsales Tibao,¹⁴ who was left behind, was laid up in bed. However, I sent him the letter, and, the moment he had read it, though he was actually with fever, he rose from his bed, and getting into a Doli, carried on the shoulders of four blacks (*negros*), he came at once to see me. He told me that we were in grave danger, and that it was necessary to find a remedy without delay. With this end in view, he asked me to send for three Portuguese, whom he named, old men now retired from service, who had great experience and knowledge of the land, to confer on the situation.

P. 39, Col 1.

I sent for them immediately, and, on discussing the matter, two men were of opinion that a light Gelià should be sent to inform the

Col. 2.

Portuguese fleet and ask them to return at once. One of the old men did not think well of this advice, and not only did he not give his assent to it, but he disapproved of it, giving many reasons, by which he clearly showed that it would be injurious, and that the best course to follow on such an occasion would be for me to go with the said Captain Bartolome Gonsales and some more Christians to the court of Arracan, starting directly on the following day, if possible. For, said he, with my arrival at the Court, the evil suspicion, which the King on the ground of the Governor's / false informations entertained against the Portuguese, would cease. And, as all those nations believe that the Christians highly esteem the Religious and Fathers (*Padres*), the King, seeing that I had come myself spontaneously into his hands, would be completely reassured.

Everybody being favourable to this advice, it was decided to put it into execution on the following day, the day of the Visitation of the Mother [2 July 1630.] of God, and orders were given to make the necessary arrangements. So, the next day, after the parochial Mass, I addressed the people, bade them farewell, and asked for their prayers, reminding them that it was in the service of God and for the preservation of Christianity in that Kingdom that we were about to brave the torrents and storms of the worst part of Winter, and place our lives at the mercy of the King of Arracan. After this discourse and the last farewell greetings, we retired, and waited for the night to embark in the greatest silence, lest the news of our departure should reach the Governor.

P. 40.

CHAPTER XII.

HOW WE STARTED FROM DIANGA FOR THE COURT OF ARRACAN.

Col. 1.

The day of the Visitation, as I said, at dead of night, we started in a well equipped Gelià. Our way lay through a wide and capacious river, through [2 July 1630.] mouths and sea-crossings, which the Winter, particularly stormy on that coast, rendered very dangerous. But, thanks to our sturdy Oarsmen, we reached the city of Ramu on the third day after our departure. Any landing operations were, however, out of the question; for a dark night was fast enveloping the earth in her sable mantle, and, as if this were not enough, dense pregnant clouds gave forth their aquatic issue, which precluded our venturing out. [5 July 1630.] So, we had to resign ourselves to the Gelià that night.

Col. 2.

The following morning we disembarked, and went to visit to Governor His name was Pomajà.¹ He was a well intentioned Prince and very friendly to the Portuguese. We gave him a very fine present of pieces of India, for it is the custom / in all those lands, when you visit a high personage, to present him first with a gift, which they call Adià. And, when they come

on a visit, it is also the custom to present them with something, failure to do which is considered a great discourtesy. So that the following is a common proverb among almost all the Oriental nations : " You come to my house ; what do you bring me ? I go to your house ; what do you give me ? "

P. 41, Col. 1. According to this custom, then, we gave him first our *Adià*, owing to which he received us with much courtesy and affability, and, being informed by us that we were going to the Court, he told us that we had taken a wise step. We tried to obtain more details about the object of our expedition, but the Governor cut us short by replying that, since we were going to the Court, we should know all about it from the King himself. He suggested that for the present we should decide which way we would go, so that he might send us all that was necessary. On our telling him that we thought it better to go by the shore, he asked some of his entourage if it would be feasible. They replied that it would not by any manner of means, as, owing to the heavy rains, // mighty torrents were flowing down from the mountain sides, causing broad watery avenues, which the Elephants would be unable to cross. The Governor added that, after crossing the mountains of the Kingdom of the *Prè*,² we should have to go to the City of *Peroèm*, whence we could go to *Arracan* by boat. ³

This news saddened us very much, for a journey through the mountains is very difficult and dangerous, owing to the wild beasts there, chiefly Tigers, Rhinoceroses (*Rinocerontes*) and wild Elephants.⁴ The Governor, however, noticing from our melancholy faces our sadness and dislike, told us that he would give us good guides, and send with us fifty-three *Mogores*⁵ prisoners, who had to go to the *bundicanas*,⁶ or gaols, of *Arracan*, but that it would be necessary to wait for two days. We replied that we would in everything follow his orders. Hereupon, he ordered a house to be prepared for us, to which we transferred our luggage from the *Gelià* in which we had come, and after that we sent the boat back to *Dianga*. At meal-time, the Governor called for us, and made us eat with him, which we did while at *Ramù*.

Col. 2. On the second night after our arrival, the prisoners that were to go with us arrived with a guard of thirty soldiers. We left in their company / and with two turreted Elephants (*Elefantes de andas*) given us by the Governor. But, owing to the copious rain, we decided to do the two leagues up to the foot of the mountains by River in a covered boat.⁷ We sent the Elephants thither by land, and, on reaching the landing-place at the foot of the mountains, we waited over an hour. As soon as the Elephants arrived, we disembarked, and started to load the more valuable part of our luggage on one of the elephants, reserving the other animal for the use of the Captain and mine, as it was provided with a turret⁸ well fitted with quilts, carpets and cushions. It had also windows on the sides, and the roof was

quite proof against the rains, so that, however abundant, they did not inconvenience us.

P. 42, Col. 1. We were all engaged in this business, and finishing the loading, when all of a sudden from one the bushes leaps a most ferocious tiger, the size of a big calf; and, seizing one of the Mogo soldiers closest to hand, he makes off with him as if with a dog, and so swiftly that, before we could render any assistance, the beast had nearly entered the wood with his victim. However, the soldiers followed with their swords, shouting and yelling. The servants of my companion pursued it also with their escopets and fired some shots, the sound of which so frightened the furious animal that he gave up his prey, / in order to run all the more quickly.⁹

They found the lucky [*sic*] soldier thus, badly mauled and cut open from the back, so that the interior could be seen. His fellow-soldiers wanted to bring him back to the boat, but the Christian servants, who had found him, did not consent to it, saying that, if he were moved, he would die, and that it would be best to cure him first. The Mogos accepted this suggestion with words of gratitude, for it is a common belief among almost all the Oriental nations that there is no Portuguese who is not a Tabido, that is, a Physician.¹⁰ The intention of the Christians was, however, to find a cure for his soul. So, one of them came running to me, and told me what was the matter. I lost no time in answering the call, and, going with all despatch, I found him alive and perfectly in his senses, but at the brink of death. So, I spoke to him in his own language, and put before him that, since by an unfortunate accident he was about to lose the transitory life of the body, it would be well for him to see to the eternal life of the soul. I pointed out to him that the errors of Paganism which he had followed would serve only to bring him to everlasting damnation, while, if he renounced those errors, believed in the Christian faith and received Baptism, by the mercy of God he would be saved.

Col. 2. After this and other suitable considerations on the subject, in which I also showed him Heaven, he told me that he firmly believed that the Christian religion was the true one, / and that therefore he desired to be a Christian. Much pleased with such a sweet reply, I took from my neck a metal Crucifix, which I always carried on similar occasions, and, placing it in his hands, I explained to him the mystery by which, for love of us, Christ had voluntarily placed himself in that state. The happy soldier started at once weeping, and, handing the Crucifix back to me, he raised his hands to Heaven and asked me to baptise him. I made him first recite with me the Credo, and then I baptised him, giving him the name of Bonaventure (*Buenaventura*), for the

good fortune he had had, by the mercy of God, of being counted among the faithful.

P. 43, Col. 1. Meanwhile, the rain gave no respite. So, we enveloped him in a sheet and brought him to the boat, where we placed him in the most suitable manner possible. And, as he now gave no reply, I ordered a lighted candle, and, placing the divine sign of our redemption before him, I began, with all the Christians present, the commendation of his soul, which he gave up to his Creator, when I came to the prayer "*Suscipe Domine serum tuum* [Lord, receive his soul]." We at once made arrangements to bury him, and at the foot of a tree we had a grave dug, which we made over a fathom deep, lest the beasts should exhume the body. Then, placing a wooden cross at the head, we left him in // peace, and poured out our soul in thanksgiving to God our Lord, for having granted that an unworthy minister like me should be the instrument of freeing that soul from the clutches of the devil, and of sending him to Heaven.

Col. 2. Our work in God's service being now over, we deemed it a good beginning and a happy augury for the success of our undertaking. So, much consoled, we started our earthly journey through a thick forest, gun in hand, and firing shots now and again to frighten the beasts off our track. In this way we travelled till four o'clock in the evening, but with great hardship, owing to the continual rain and deep mud. And so, when we reached some fields, we did not dare to cross them that day, because they were over two leagues wide, and full of water and mud. We were thus forced to spend the night sheltered at the foot of a tree, and to order grass, which was plentiful in the whole of that district, to be cut for the Elephants. And, as the rain did not cease, no fire could be lit to cook rice, the daily bread of the natives, without which they do not feel satisfied, however much they may eat of other things. At any rate, in order to tide over the want, we sent for a bag of biscuits, which among other things we had brought from Dianga for our own use, and we distributed the same among all / those infidels, who were going with us, our party being eighty-three persons in all.¹¹

After this short light meal, which we washed down with the water of Heaven and earth, we, the eleven Christians,¹¹ lodged ourselves, as best we could, in the turret of the Elephant (*en las Elefantinas andas*), some inside, and others around them, under some improvised awnings. But, as soon as the Moon made her appearance, a great tempest of furious winds broke out, which, striking the sails of that terrestrial boat, made us rise the next morning quite soaked. And, though the rain ceased by noon, the wind did not follow suit : on the contrary, it gained such violence that it carried off the roof of the turret (*de las andas*) and broke it into a thousand splinters.¹²

Much put out at this contretemps, we undid what was left of the turret,¹³

P. 44, Col. 1.

and continued our journey unprotected and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather. We had crossed the swampy fields and reached the foot of the mountains, when the wind stopped and gave way to rain, which poured with such vehemence that one might have thought the five hours' rest it had given us was but a preparation for this furious outburst. No wonder then that, when we reached the summit of a high mountain, we were so wet that we were obliged to change our clothes, and put on something light, thus to await // further downpours throughout the night. However, God our Lord deigned in His mercy to ordain that the rain should not continue during the whole of the night. We were thus enabled to light great fires, dry ourselves, and refresh our bodies with some hot food, the only drink available in such places in those regions being water. This finished, in order to have some rest, we set about looking for good beds. We found them on the trees, and we made the best we could of the situation, in order to be safe from the wild animals.

Col. 2.

The night was spent in this manner, and comfortable we deemed it owing to the absence of rain. At daybreak, we continued our journey down the mountain, till we reached the foot, the rain still holding off. Here we found some Bambu huts roofed with grass, vestiges of certain companies of soldiers who had passed that way. As it was yet early, not even eleven o'clock of the day, we were about to prosecute our way, when the signs of an approaching tempest, overcast sky, thunder and lightning, made us realise that it would be rash to proceed any further. So we retired to the huts, and we were not yet quite installed before the rain began, and it went on without stopping for full twenty-four hours. Being thus detained, we all availed ourselves of this / fine opportunity to rest our tired bodies, all the more because we had another two hard days before reaching Peroëm.

In the meanwhile, I began to say the Divine office. When I had finished doing so, a Maometan Mogol came to me and asked me if that *quitabo*¹⁴ was our *Anzir*,¹⁵ that is, the book of our law. I replied that it was a book for doing *Nimasa*,¹⁶ that is, a book for reciting one's prayers. Hereupon he asked me to whom the *Nassaranes*,¹⁷ or Christians, prayed. I replied that we prayed to the only one true God. The man was evidently pleased and cried *Xabas*, which is a way of approving something that is very good,¹⁸ and, continuing his interrogatory, he asked me: "If you know that there is only one true God, how is it that in your *Massides*,¹⁹ or temples, you have so many Idols, whom you adore?" I laughed at the question, and the *Agarene*,* noticing it, interjected: "Speaking of such holy things, do you laugh?" I replied: "Yes, because you, Maometans, are so ignorant (*barbaros*) that you imagine we Christians, or Nassarenes, as you call us, adore Idols, like the *Indus* (*Indus*), or Gentiles." I then explained to him the reason why

* *Agarene*=son of Agar and Ismael.

we, Christians, kept images in our Temples and houses, and my explanation satisfied him and the others who had joined us.

P. 45, Col. 1. Continuing the argument, he asked me how many religions God had promulgated in the world. I replied there were three, and I added // explanations in their own tongue, as best I could, and with God's assistance. At this the man expressed his surprise, that I, who appeared to be a learned man, should not know that the religions instituted by God were four, the fourth and last being the one preached at God's command by his Bororazul²⁰ Maomet, or the great Prophet Maomet. "The fourth," he continued, "superseded the three you have spoken of, and, though yours is good and you can be saved in it, yet mine is more perfect and more pleasing to God." With this reason, which to him appeared incontrovertible, he came to a stop. I reopened the conversation by asking him if he had anything to add. "What more can you say in the matter?" he said. "Much," I replied; "but, for the time being, I am satisfied with your admitting that the Christian law is good and can give salvation. As to your sect, I say it is bad and harmful; for, instead of bringing one to salvation, it leads one to eternal perdition." Hearing these words, all the Moors present put their hands to their ears, and ejaculated many times Tobà, Tobà,²¹ a word which they use to express great astonishment and admiration. I remonstrated to them that, since I had listened to them till they had exhausted all their arguments, it was only fair that I should now have my say. They said that I was right and / that they would listen to me. I then took up some points from their Alcoran, which the Mogores call Forquan,²² showed them how frivolous and ridiculous they were, and proved to them that without baptism there could be no salvation. They replied unanimously: "Padre gio, Alá chatimo, Alà meruan,"²³ which in our language means: "Lord Father, God is good; God is merciful." Saying this, they rose and left me.

Col 2.

The following morning, the Mogor, who had started the discussion came to me again, and said to me: "Father (*Padre*), I should like very much to see you in Arracan. The whole of last night I had no peace of mind, thinking of what you said, namely that there can be no salvation without being a Christian. So, I should like to go fully into the matter." On hearing this, I offered to go and meet him at night, when we could talk over this very important subject. But he replied that this could not be done on the way, lest suspicions should be raised among his companions, and that therefore he would defer it for a more suitable occasion. I did not think well of this procrastination, and I told him to be sure that his delaying was the work of the devil, who would object many difficulties to divert him from finding out the error in which he lived; he ought to bear well in mind that he might die before he came to a decision, and be damned. To this he gave a stupid //

- P. 46, Col. 1. reply, which is very common in those lands among the infidels. On similar occasions, they say "Nasciuo,"²¹ which means: "What one's lot and destiny has fixed will inevitably happen." With this frivolous reply he moved off.
- Col. 2. Later on in Arracan I made / great efforts to find out this Mogor, but I was absolutely unable to have any news either of him or of his companions. They must have been sentenced to deportation to the mountains of Maum,²² of which we shall speak later on. "

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW, CONTINUING OUR ITINERARY, WE ENTERED THE VERY HIGH AND ROUGH MOUNTAINS OF THE KINGDOM OF THE PRE, WHICH SEPARATE THE KINGDOM OF ARRACAN FROM THE EMPIRE OF PEGU;
ALSO, OF WHAT ELSE BEFELL US DURING THIS JOURNEY.

- Col. 1,
infra. On the following morning, leaving our dry refuge, we resumed our way. We had begun to climb a very high and very rough mountain, when the rain started again with force, which rendered our work all the more difficult. Travelling in this way a little over two leagues, we came upon a large herd of wild buffaloes, which blocked our way. With a view to dislodging them, we fired our guns; but, as our aim was only to frighten off the animals, we fired wide, bearing in mind that a wounded beast would be of no advantage, but of positive danger to us. / The report of the guns and the hissing of the shots produced the intended effect, and, the buffaloes having fled affrighted, we were able to pass on safely. As we progressed, we fired our guns now and again, specially when we heard the frightful roars and growls of Tigers, Buffaloes, Elephants and other ferocious quadrupeds.¹ At this place, we found some beautiful lemons and citrons, but the rain did not allow us to profit of them, as we were all wet and shivering with cold.
- Col. 2,
infra.

- P. 47, Col. 1. It was late // when we arrived in this way at the summit of the mountain. And, as there was no shelter to be found, we could not remain here for the night, owing to the strong winds which swept the place, making it difficult for one to remain standing. So, we began at once our downward course, thinking that at the foot we should be able to find some shelter, or some houses similar to those of the previous day, when we might light a fire and warm and dry ourselves. We were, however, much disappointed and disheartened, for we found no protection other than a few forest trees, at the foot of which flowed a fast stream, swollen with the plentiful rain that had fallen. Besides, through the dark twilight of the approaching night, we saw on the opposite side another very craggy mountain, which, when seen clearly the next morning, I thought to be the highest I had ever seen, nor did I see any higher after that.

Col. 2.

With these sights before us, we had no other consolation but to trust that God, in His infinite mercy, would deliver us from so many difficulties. We spent the whole night on trees, drenched to the skin, and well nigh killed with the cold. And, as neither the rain ceased, nor the dense clouds held out any prospect of calmer conditions, we tried to find some means of crossing to the other side. We looked for a ford by which to cross the furious stream, but in vain./ So, it was decided to make a raft by means of thick lengths of wood, tied together with strong creepers, of both of which there was no dearth. After the raft, oars were made; also a strong rope, by joining several cords together. One end of the rope having been securely fastened to a tree, six of the strongest and sturdiest men there present undertook to carry the other extremity to the opposite bank of the River, and with this object they boarded the raft. But they found the current so rapid and impetuous in the middle that, though they tried for three hours on end, they could make no headway. So, they came back by pulling at the rope which they had left tied on the shore. When we saw their failure, we became very sad and much distressed. However, as it was the only means left at our disposal, ten of the very best Mogos decided to make another attempt to get over, and, taking the raft, they worked till night, but with no better success.

P. 48, Col. 1.

All our hopes had now vanished, and there was no remedy but to trust in God, to whom we turned with our whole heart in our affliction, begging Him by His passion not to allow us to be buried in the bellies of wild animals. In fact, as the rain lasted more than two full days, we were reduced to extremity, since all our provisions were so wet // that, being no longer fit for use, we threw them into the River. Our only food now was a little toasted rice, which the Mogos had brought, and which was quite wet also. Finally, after three full days spent there, we reached such straits that, in order not to break down altogether, I was obliged to have recourse to two bottles from the wine-case I had brought for my Masses.

And, seeing that the downpour did not stop, I gave a sermon to the Christians, exhorting them to resign themselves wholly to the will of God our Lord, and to make their confession, which they all did with many tears of contrition. I turned then to the infidels, and told them that it was important that they should not lose their souls with their bodies. But, though all began to weep at this advice, not one was converted, owing to my great sins, I presume. So, I came back to the Christians. We all fell on our knees, and started saying the litanies of the Saints, in such order as I could remember, for it was impossible to use the Breviary. We recited afterwards the litany of the most holy Mother of God, imploring her usual help.

At last, at the end of the fourth day, before the rising of the Moon,

Col. 2.

God our Lord permitted the rain to cease. Some stars appeared in the firmament, and the clouds dispersed, a sign of good, clear weather. When the rain had stopped altogether, we set about / lighting a fire. As the wood was all wet, we experienced some difficulty in doing so, until we threw some powder on the better logs, when the fire blazed with such force that we were all able to warm ourselves and dry our clothes. And, as the rain kept off the whole night, the waters of the stream decreased, and the current slackened, making it possible for one end of the rope to be carried to the opposite bank, where it was securely tied. This being accomplished, seven turns of the raft were enough to transfer us all and our luggage across. The two Elephants swam it.

P. 49, Col. 1.

When we were on the other side, the weather became unsettled again, with dense and dark clouds; some rain fell, and we were wet once more. And, though the rain lasted only a little over two hours, yet it rendered the journey up the rugged mountain all the more difficult, so much so that it became necessary to dismount from the Elephant and to ascend with great care, using our hands also occasionally. In fact, the Elephants climbed with greater agility and ease than any one of us, lowering and contracting themselves, when necessary, as if they had been goats. I remembered then the fables of Pliny and other more modern Authors, who say that these animals cannot // either lower or bend themselves, and that, if they once fall, they cannot get up again. But I have myself seen the contrary on many occasions. During the summer heat, I have, on similar journeys, seen the animals lying down under the shade of trees. I have also noticed that, when the drivers (*cornaguas*) take their tame charges to be washed, they make them lie down without any difficulty near the water, and rub and scrub them with pieces of tiles, the animals remaining quiet and peaceful during these operations, with evident signs of great enjoyment. This is how they treat every morning in summer all well-kept elephants.

Col. 2.

Continuing then our ascent of the mountain, we reached the top when it was night, and we were greatly tired. However, it was necessary to travel more than another half league, as at those heights no wood was available to make a fire, and dry and warm ourselves. So, even though we could scarcely breathe,² we journeyed on till we reached the appointed place. There we spent a comfortable night, warming ourselves, drying our clothes, and having a supper of the toasted rice that was left. And, though salt and other ingredients were wanting, we found the meal as tasty as the daintiest ragout, the only drawback being that it was not plentiful enough. This simple, but, / under the circumstances, to us splendid, repast being over, we, the Christians, recited the litany of the most Blessed Virgin, as we used to do every day. Then climbing the trees, each one chose the most suitable place he could find, and then tied himself fast, lest he should fall off, while asleep.

It pleased God our Lord that it should not rain that night. So, we should have been able to spend that night in the desired rest but for our two elephants, who, excited with the scent of the venereal impulses of some wild female Elephants (*Aleàs, o Alifoas brauas*),³ that were about close by, started trumpeting and making a great noise. As they were well bound with iron chains, the elephants could not break loose; so they kept up their noise with such force that, to pacify them, we had to remove the occasion by firing some shots from our escopets, at the sound of which the female Elephants (*Aleàs*) fled at once. Our elephants, thus losing the scent of the females, quieted down, and gave us also peace.

P. 50. Col. 1. When it dawned, we rose from our soft beds, and arranged our things properly in order to continue our journey; for, unless we were careless, we could reach the city of Peroem that day. With this joyful prospect, and with the ardent desire of leaving behind mountains, deserts, and places inhabited by wild and irrational // animals, and of arriving at places peopled by rational ones, we left earlier than usual. We began to descend that rough mountain-ridge with greater care than when ascending, as a slip would mean falling into a deep valley, and being reduced to pieces before reaching the bottom. Finally, thanks be to God our Lord, we reached the valley.

A journey of two leagues across it brought us to two other ridges, which, though not so high as the one we had left behind, were yet more frightful on account of their being very craggy and full of precipices.

Col. 2. In the middle of these two ridges, ran a rapid, muddy and deep River, which re-echoed through those cavities with a horrible and awe-inspiring sound, enough to frighten the boldest man. An old Mogo tradition had it that an ancient King resolved to open up communications as far as Ramù, and ordered these very rough ridges and mountains to be divided, with the object of introducing that River and making it navigable for boats coming from the Kingdoms of Bengala, Chatigan and Assaram.⁴ This would be a measure of great utility to all those Kingdoms, as it would avoid the shipwrecks which take place on the sea, owing to the roughness of the coast, and the dangerous entrances to the ports. However, after considering later the matter more maturely, they came to see that, as / the enterprise could be of the greatest advantage, it could also bring about the greatest loss, nay, the utter destruction of themselves and of the Kingdom; for by opening that communication, they would enable the great Mogol to come very easily with his fleets up to the City of Arracan, and conquer the whole of the Mogo Kingdom. Accordingly, they ordered the work to be stopped.⁵

Our way lay over one of these ridges, over the one to our left. The natives call it the ridge of the Porà, on account of an Idol, which these barbarians have placed on the summit. This mountain, then, we began to climb, the Credo on our lips, using our hands as well as our feet, and

P. 51, Col. 1.

looking always away from the River, because, if perchance our eyes fell on the depth of those precipices, they became dim. Under these difficulties, we reached the middle of the mountain where stood the Idol, made of stone, and placed in a little chapel artificially hollowed in the rocks. The Idol was in a sitting posture with the legs crossed, after the manner of sitting used by almost all the Oriental nations.⁶ On reaching this spot, all the gentiles that were with us prostrated themselves, and made deep obeisance, in thanksgiving for having come out safely from those dangerous straits. The Mogores, being Maumetans, went // aside, and gave me to understand that they hated those idolatries; but, being prisoners and captives, they remained very quiet and patient. I approached somewhat those that were idolatrising, and told them that we had all to give thanks to the true God, and not to that statue of stone, and I added many other considerations on the subject. They listened to me with pleasure, without any signs of annoyance, and without any objections to what I said, save for the remark of one man, who said that, as long as one did no evil, one did good.

And, rising all, they said that it was now necessary to journey on, in order to be able to reach the City, and that from there we should be able to ride on the elephant.⁷ Now, I saw there was among the prisoners an old Moor, who was so weak that he could scarcely stand. So, I asked to have him freed. The guards objected; but, when we assured them on our word of honour that we would deliver him to them in the City, they agreed, and we gave him a seat on one of the elephants. At this action of ours, all the Moors expressed their deep gratitude, saying that there was no nation in the world that could compare with theirs, excepting that of the Franguis, as they usually call the Portuguese.

Col. 2.

After this, continuing our journey, we finished the descent of the mountain, and entered some rice-fields, which we crossed with some difficulty, as they were covered with water. Owing to this, it was almost night when we reached the City. When we sent / word to the Governor that we would come to see him the following day, he ordered a house to be prepared for us. We, the Christians, repaired thither, but the others, bidding us farewell, went to the Governor's residence, to obey the commands that might be given them.

As soon as we reached the appointed house, the first thing we did was to render thanks to God. We knelt down, and, taking the Crucifix (*o Christo*) in my hands, I recited the Hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*, which I followed up with the Litany of our Lady, for she had obtained for us the favour we had received from her only Son, our Redeemer. After this, we changed our clothes, and gave our bodies some rest and refreshment; for, in truth, we were very weak. In the meantime, the Governor sent us an invitation to

have supper with him. We excused ourselves with many courteous words of thanks, saying that we were so tired that we could scarcely move, but that, the next day, we would duly come to pay him our respects, and give an account of our journey. The very bearers of this reply returned within half an hour with the prepared supper, and with such an abundance of eatables, that it was necessary, lest they should do themselves harm, to set a limit to our companions, who, feeble and emaciated as they were, were giving loose reins to their appetite. When these things were over, and // we retired for the night, at about 9 o'clock, the weather changed again; there was thunder and lightning, and it rained without stopping the whole of that night, and the two following days. Had this caught us / where we crossed the River in a raft, there would have been nothing left for us but to end the days of our life, and be buried in the voracious stomachs of tigers and other ferocious animals.

P. 52, Col. 1.

Col. 2.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW WE WENT TO SEE THE GOVERNOR OF PEROEM, AND HOW HE ORDERED A BOAT TO BE PREPARED FOR US TO PROCEED TO THE COURT OF ARRACAN, WHITHER WE WENT.

Col. 1,
infra.

On the following day, though the rain which started over night, continued, the Governor sent two ceriones (*ceriones*) to take us to see him. These Ceriones are like our hand-barrows, but well-made, well-shaped (*torneados*) and lacquered in variegated colours. They are carried on the shoulders by four menials, and are used by high personages who sit on them, when going out or journeying.¹ And, as a protection from the Sun, and also from the rain, when it is not accompanied by a strong wind, certain umbrellas (*unos quitasoles*) are used, which our Portuguese in those parts call *sombreros*.² Their circumference is that of the parasols of the Roman ladies of Michael Angelo Bonarota.³

Col. 2,
infra.

Provided with Ceriones and *sombreros*, / we left to visit the Governor, taking before us, according to the custom, the *adià*, or present, which consisted of four middle-sized gilt trays of Chinese make, full of cloves, cinnamon, pepper and cardamom. As soon as we reached his presence, the four servants⁴ advanced to offer him the gift. He was much pleased with them, and, receiving us with great courtesies, after his style, he made us sit near him. Before we began our business, a silver Betel-recipient (*Betelero*) with betel (*betele*) was brought, according to the custom prevalent in many parts of India. This recipient is box-shaped and contains many little vessels for the betel and for other ingredients, also some to receive // the saliva caused by the juice of the betel. This ceremony is a common courtesy

P. 3, Col. 1

extended to visitors; yet, the principal people do not use it towards the ordinary folk.

When these formalities of welcome were over, we told him how we were going to Arracan to settle matters with the King, and we requested him to order for us a good fast boat. He replied that he could give us a boat much to our taste, but that the weather would not allow of our crossing the gulf of Maùm,⁵ and that it would be necessary to wait till it calmed down with the new Moon, four days later.⁶ We rejoined that our business did not permit so great a delay, and asked him kindly to pass orders for our departure as soon as possible. At this reply, he sent at once for a Coràm, which means an officer of justice,⁷ and ordered him to take with him one of the servants of Captain Bartolome Gonçalves Tibao; to go to a certain place and get launched the Gelià that the Christians would choose, and to send immediately word to the paiques, that is, the boatmen and oarsmen, to be ready within twenty-four hours to start with the Gelià for Arracan, whatever the weather.

Col. 2.

As soon as this matter was settled, he ordered food to be served. We begged leave to withdraw, for we were rather tired. He did not consent, and said that, as he had decided that we should be his guests till we left, we could go after taking some food. When this had been done, we departed both to rest and to order that, as soon as the message came, we should embark, whatever the condition of the weather might be. For we had news that the Coramgrì, or Captain-in-chief, was in the port of Orietan⁸ with the five hundred Geliàs and sixty galliots, waiting for favourable weather to set out for Dianga, in order to put into execution what his King, persistently urged by the treacherous Governor of Chatigan, had commanded. In the meantime, the Governor of the City sent us fifty hens, two deer, four bags of scented rice, a pot (*cantara*) of butter, fruits, and sweets of local make.⁹ We sent back due thanks for the gift, and the Captain, who was generous, gave to the bearers more than what the present was worth.

P. 54, Col. 1.

Two hours later, the Governor's son, a lad of thirteen or fourteen years, called on us. He came in state, riding a richly caparisoned elephant, and attended by thirty to forty persons. His sombrero had an Ivory handle, which showed that he was a Grandee.¹⁰ We both went down to receive him with all the ceremonies in use among them. Having no betel, we gave him instead // various sweets, of our make, which had already arrived the previous day with some of the Captain's luggage that had been left behind at Ramu. The youngster took a great fancy, especially on account of their neatness and beauty, to some pretty curious baubles made of marchpane (*massapanes*) and of other kinds of confectionery, and he was more delighted still at the idea that he

was going to taste them. Finally, in order not to depart from the custom of the land, which says, "I go to your house ; what do you give me ?" the Captain sent for a piece of Chinese danask, with yellow flowers on a green ground, and presented it to the visitor. The lad, who was highly pleased, departed after this, and we saw him to his elephant.

Col. 2. This visit was followed by others from some natives, friendly to the Portuguese, and to every one of them the Captain had to give some Indian spices, which they highly prize. Tired now of so many calls, we were longing for the night, when we should be allowed to take some rest, which we were much in need of. When the desired night came, and there is no place where it does not, there also arrived from the Governor's house such a plentiful supper that twenty persons could eat their fill of it.⁹ Our host sent also word to us to sleep well that night and without anxiety, as the Gelià was ready now for the following morning. With this good news we retired, leaving it to the servants / to dispose of the supper as they liked.

P. 55, Col. 1. The night being over, half an hour before dawn, we rose, and sent to enquire if the boat was ready, with instructions to bring some paiques¹¹ to carry our luggage, should the reply be in the affirmative. We were engaged in these preparations, when a message came from the Governor, requesting us to pass by his house before embarking. It was raining so heavily that, had it not been for the urgency of our business, it would have been sheer temerity to go out of the house. However, leaving orders that all our belongings should be sent on to the boat, and that every one should be on board by the time we returned to meet them, we went with the very messengers to take leave of the Governor. He expressed his regret that, owing to his advanced age, he could not accompany us to the boat, and said that he was sending his son instead, for which we thanked him with the most courteous compliments used by them. In the court-yard of the Governor's residence, three elephants with gilded turrets (*andas*) were awaiting the two of us and his son.⁹ On arriving at the Gelià, the lad entreated us, on behalf of his father, not to set out, urging that the weather was so terrible that we were placing ourselves in great danger. The Mirdà, or Pilot,¹² also supported this admonition, and gave strong reasons why we should alter our fixed determination // and decide to wait for an improvement in the weather. He did not succeed however ; for the captain, bidding farewell to the Governor's son, beckoned with a look some of his servants, who lifted me in their arms, and placed me in the Gelià. The Captain followed me in the same manner.¹³ So, the Mirdà, seeing there was no remedy, said aloud, and almost crying, to his paiques : "Brothers, our lives are in great peril. These Franguis, or Portuguese, are sons of the sea, people who do not fear even death." At

these words my companion, seeing the paiques dismayed, took off his outer garments, and in lighter garb, a Bengala cane in his hand, he ordered the Gelià to set out, and the paiques, thirty-six of them, or eighteen a-side, to ply their oars.

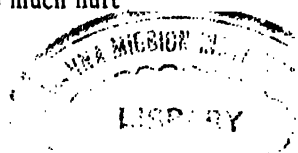
The sea was in such a state that, if it frightened us when on land, how much more now, when we were on it? Now we were dancing on the crests of lofty billows, now we sank into the deep cavities opened by the Sea, so much so that we had to lower the awning, in order to keep the rolling boat flat. And all those who were not at the oars lay like corpses, one on top of the other, thus to enable the Gelià better to govern herself. The water both from the Heavens and the sea was so copious, the winds so strong, the roaring of the furious waves, together with continual thunder and lightning, so threatening, that they made one / think of the awful day of judgment.

Col. 2.

In this manner we travelled for five long hours, making acts of contrition, and expecting death at every moment. And, when we reached the middle of the gulf, which, as I have said, they call the gulf of Maùm, and found ourselves in the current of the waters, we were in a helpless position. We had, therefore, to undress, and put ourselves in light apparel, to be able to swim with greater ease. After this preparation, my companions went to assist the tired paiques, and I, Crucifix in hand, was imploring the Divine help. But the tempest was so great, and the waves struck us with such force and vehemence that, even shouting, we could not hear one another. Withal, I was giving absolution to all with any sufficient matter, for there was neither time nor place for more, as a watery grave was constantly staring us in the face.

This distressing and most bitter conflict lasted for about two hours, till we were out of the impetuous currents. The tossing boat became then more steady, and braved better the seas, giving us thereby some comfort and hopes of not getting drowned in those abysses, but of reaching land, which was still two leagues away. The Mirdà, or Pilot, who was at the patual,¹¹ which is the rudder of such boats, was now, with those who assisted him, so tired // that he began to ask again in a loud voice for our help at the patual. Seeing that the others, if they were to relieve him, would have to leave the oars, I, with the Captain, took the helm. The Bengala Pilot, seeing that we understood the job, took more courage. Indeed, the poor man was sorely in need of aid; for, besides the strength required to govern the patual, the waves came with such force from the stern that, whenever they caught me from the back, they struck me with the chest on top of the sweep of the tiller (*por cima del descanso del timon*). And I was so much hurt thereby that, for some days after, I was spitting clotted blood.

P. 56, Col. 1.



With these hardships we were drawing nigh to the shore ; but, as the waves were breaking with great violence near it, we thought it safe not to approach, but to run straight through the entrance (*boca*) of Orietan. But the sky was too overcast and the darkness too great, insomuch that those on the poop could scarcely see the others at the prow. It pleased God, however, that I should be carrying with me a small magnetic needle, with the help of which we guided ourselves through the entrance, and gave thanks to our Heavenly Father for His mercies.

Col. 2.

We had now found a safe port, but we were absolutely tired and exhausted. As for the Païques, on reaching land, they made the Gelià fast, and, going ashore, kissed many times the / ground, wet though it was. And, though it rained heavily, they, after returning to the Gelià, laid themselves down as if dead, and there they remained without stirring for over an hour, until the Captain made them rise and put up the awning, as the rain was injuring us all very much : after that they could rest, if they liked. They fixed up the awning, and, changing their wet clothes, they fell off again to sleep, and remained so till daybreak. It devolved on us Christians, therefore, to divide ourselves into four batches and mount guard, fire-arms in hand, on account of both robbers and tigers ; for the latter, getting human scent, swim to the boats to catch their prey.

P. 57, Col. 1.

In this way we spent the night until the break-of-day watch, when the Captain awakened the païques, to make them prepare their food, after taking which we were to set out, as we did, a little before sunrise. Travelling up Rivers, notwithstanding the rain, which, the awning being up, did not affect us, we reached the choquidares¹⁵ of the City and port of Orietan. Here the guards of those custom-houses detained us, as was usual, till they had informed the Governor of the land. This official, the moment he came to know that there were Portuguese in the choquidares, or custom-houses in our language, sent the news to the Corangrì, who was // a league away with all the Geliàs, which were moored on account of the weather. The Corangrì, on receiving this information, sent at once an officer to find out what Portuguese we were, and to tell us not to enter without his permission.

When this messenger reached the place where we were, the Captain decided to send another. The choice fell on a Christian, a slave of his, who was instructed to tell the Corangrì who he [the Captain] was, and how he came with the Father (*Padre*) to speak to the King. He was also instructed to remark, by the way, certain things, and with what countenance the Corangrì received him. The slave, who was well versed in the language and the customs of the Mogos, came back much pleased, and told us that, as soon as the Mogo General heard the Father was coming, he was very glad, and had sent at once that Gelià of his guard, to take us with greater honour to see him.

After this news, we rendered many thanks to God for such a good beginning. And, taking for presents various Chinese pieces and some Indian spices, we set out immediately to visit the General. He was in some houses, built of Bambus, roofed with thatch, and lined with very fine mats, with which they looked very tidy and cosy. Such houses can, on similar occasions, be built within four days. The Bambus are, as I have said, a kind of a very strong canes, of which almost all the houses in this land are built; they are more or less strong and handsome, according to the sum spent on them. /

Col. 2.

In one of these houses, built near the fleet, was the Mogo General, who received us with great joy and pleasure. He was simply enchanted to see us. And, pretending to know nothing, he asked us how it was we had left Dianga in such weather. We replied, showing sufficiently that, at the root of all those untruths, there was the hereditary hatred which the Governor of Chatigan bore towards the Portuguese, and that it was the cause of so much mischief. And, in proof of the innocence of the Portuguese, we added we were coming to place ourselves in the hands of the King, in order that, if they were guilty, we might pay the penalty first, especially I, who, as their Pastor and spiritual Father, had the duty of advising them to be his Majesty's loyal servants. Time would show, I said, who was loyal, the Portuguese, or the Governor of Chatigan.

P. 58, Col. 1.

When I had advanced these arguments with some warmth, the Corangri said: "Father, your coming to be answerable for them, and to submit yourself to the Padchà's good pleasure is a sufficient proof of the fealty and the innocence of the Portuguese and other Christians. Believe me, the King will, according to his custom, receive you kindly and heap many honours upon you. And do not think, Father, that the unfavourable weather has prevented me from venturing out, as you and yours have done, in the service of my King and Master. // What detained me was my thorough knowledge, my many years' experience, of the loyalty and faithfulness of the Portuguese. I was, therefore, taking my time over this business, in order to ascertain the real facts. And, that you may be sure that what I say is true, I want to affirm the same under oath." And, standing up, he raised the end of his cloth on the right side, and, uncovering half of his thigh, he placed his hand on an Idol, and confirmed with a solemn oath, as is done by his sect, what he had said. They take this kind of oaths very seldom, and only when it is absolutely necessary.

There is a custom among various Gentile nations, such as the Mogos, the Pegùs, the Bramàs, the Siames, the Calamifians, the Champàs, the Tunquines¹⁶ and numerous others, of having the Idols, to which they are most devout, painted indelibly on the arms and legs, as well as on the back.¹⁷ The process employed is the same as is used in Spain and other places in marking slaves.

Col. 2.

When the said oath had been taken, we all resumed our seats. The Governor, reopening the conversation, told us that the Padchà was not in Arracan, but at the Poragri, which is the greatest of his (their?) false deities, and that he would remain some days at the Pagode of this Idol, whither he thought it advisable we should at once go to meet him.¹⁸ And, in order to reach the quicker, he advised us to give up the route to Arracan, and take another, by which he would send us there in two days.¹⁹ As we accepted his offer with thanks, / he commanded three Geliàs to be prepared, without any delay, to take us, and ordered one of his Captains to accompany us. This Captain was very fond of our nation, and deemed it an honour that we should be made over to his charge, with a letter to the King, and with instructions that, on reaching, he should land first, and go to deliver the letter to a brother-in-law of the Corangri, who was employed in the Palace. The Corangri wrote also to the latter, earnestly requesting him to render us every assistance in all our requirements.

While the Geliàs were being got ready, there came the ceremony of the betel. We pleaded to be excused of this courtesy; but we were forced to accept and taste it. For me it was a great mortification, but there was no escape. After this ceremony, the Captain came in. The Corangri enjoined him to take great care of us, and, accompanying us a few steps from his seat, he bade us farewell. We now set out to embark.

P. 59.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW WE SET OUT FROM THE PORT OF ORIETAN FOR THE PORAGRI
PAGODE, AND WHAT BEFELL US ON OUR ARRIVAL THERE.

Col. 1.

On the second day of our arrival at Oricàn the weather began to improve. We were thus able to cross the gulf of Orietàn, as it is called, with little bodily hardship, and no mental worry, as the sea was now calm. After managing this passage, we entered some Rivers covered with big shady trees, which in some places met and interlaced overhead, as in an avenue made by the hand of man. Upon the dense branches one could see a great number of monkeys, and down below some Abbadas, or Rhinoceroses,¹ which inhabit those wildernesses. And, where the place was not so thickly wooded, there were also a great many peacocks.²

Col. 2.

Along these lonely and canopied Rivers we travelled on and on, the men plying the oars lustily the whole of that day, and the greater portion of the night. The following day, after two hours of sunshine, we began entering open country, sown with rice, cotton, and various vegetables, and soon we came in sight of numerous groups of human dwellings. / On reaching one of these, the paiques took some rest and prepared their food. We too ordered our meal to be prepared, and for this, besides the provisions in our possession, the

inhabitants brought us at once for sale many fowls, chickens, turtle-doves, pigeons, butter, and other milky foodstuffs. And, as the whole of this country abounds in eatables, everything was so cheap, that for a tanga, or rupee (*rupià*), which is equal to four of our reals, you could pick and choose thirty fowls. For two reals you could get one hundred eggs (*guebos*), other prices being on a similar scale.³

P. 60, Col. 1.

When this cheap meal was over, we set out again, the oars at full strength; and, navigating always within sight of inhabited country, we reached the Poragri at night.¹ But we were unable to approach the Gatte,² or landing-place in our language, on account of the many boats and houses of Bambùs, built on rafts of the same material. The great Lords are wont to travel in these houses up and down those Rivers, specially when they accompany the King, who goes in a palace made of the same // material, with halls, rooms, drawing-rooms, galleries and ante-chambers, the wholly divided into several parts for the royal family. And all the apartments are worked with such neatness and beauty, that, for floating pleasure-houses, it must be considered truly magnificent. Still more wonderful is it to see travelling on the Rivers moving Cities of a thousand houses and more, and among them very expensive Palaces of Princes and mighty Lords. In these pleasure trips the Mogo Monarch usually spends two summer months, giving audiences and despatching business, the concourse being as great as when he holds his Court on land.⁶

Col. 2.

Owing to this obstruction, we had to anchor more than a league below [the landing-place]. As soon as we had made fast, the Mogo Captain disembarked, and went to see if he could, that very night, speak to the brother-in law of his Commander-in-chief, and deliver to him the letters. Before going, he told us not to shift until he returned, which we observed faithfully. He, in his turn, punctually complied with our request to advise us at once of anything that might happen. But the information was that, before sunrise, the Mogo Captain came back to us together with the gentleman to whom we had been recommended, and whom we received with all possible marks of gratitude. He told us that the letters had reached him / too late, and that, therefore, he had not been able to deliver the letter for the King, but that he would do so on the first occasion available and inform us at once of the result. My companion replied to these and other great promises with two pieces of escomillas, or gauze (*volantes*) from China,⁷ which the courtier liked very much, showing a great desire of being of service to us, both on account of his brother-in-law's recommendation, and because of the profit he expected from us. The latter would be his chief motive in assisting us, for it is the most usual one among all the Orientals. After this, he bade us farewell and went to look after his business and ours. In

this matter the Orientals behave in such a way that, though their material interest is always their first objective, yet it remains so well hidden that one invariably thinks oneself their debtor. And so, they could give lectures on this point in many European Courts, where it is the custom for people, after receiving the stains (*las manchas*), to remain as clean as if the stains were of water. For in many the remembrance of having received them lasts no longer than a stain of water, which falls on one's dress.⁸ And withal, the latter are called polite and civilised, and the former barbarians.

P. 61, Col. 1.

At the place where we had cast anchor, we kept waiting for news the whole of that day; yet, that night we received only a message [from the Corangri's brother-in-law] asking us not to despair, and not to attribute // the delay to carelessness, for he had not yet been able to gain admittance and speak to the King, since the whole of that day the King had neither come out, nor given audience to anybody; but that, at night, he would certainly obtain an interview, as he had already obtained permission for the purpose. With this intelligence he sent us a present of various kinds of game and other eatables. We thanked him, and the Captain had a bribe of some tangas (*algunas tangas de mancha*)⁹ given to the bearer, the man being as much pleased with them as we were displeased at the long delay. However, as we had now to submit to whatever might happen, we remained fully resigned to the Divine will, but spent that night in much thought.

Col. 2.

The following day, before sunrise, the messenger of the previous night came again to us, very gay and happy, and asking a reward in return for the good news he was bringing; whereupon, he delivered a letter from his master, who informed us that he had delivered the Corangri's letter to the King. The latter, on having it read, and learning its contents, had been very glad, and had caused a formon to be issued to the Corangri, in which he commanded him not to move from Orietan until further orders. The King had then sent for the Puchiquè, a title which among us corresponds to 'Master of the household,'¹⁰ and had ordered him to fetch us the next day with two elephants of his guard, and give us good lodgings. So, our friend at the Court requested us to wait where we were; for, within / two or three hours, he would come to meet us together with the Puchiquè.

We immediately sent back the messenger with a reply, and gave him, as a reward for the good news, ten rupees, with which he was so pleased that he wanted by force to kiss our feet, saying that there was no nation in the world more worthy of being served than the Portuguese. As soon as the bearer, who had brought the glad tidings, had left, we ordered to prepare the present that was to be given to the Puchiquè, also some sweets that were to take the place of the betel (*betele*).

In the meanwhile, the news of my arrival having spread, there came without

P. 62, Col. 1.

delay the Japon Christians (*Christianos Iapones*), with their Captain.¹¹ They had come with the King, for they belonged to his guard. And, on learning where I was, all of them came in two Geliàs, dressed in their gala costumes, to pay me a visit. Having arrived where we were, they saluted us with the muskets and some falconets which they had. Their Captain, whose name was Leon Donno, advancing fell down before me on his knees, and it was only by pressing them much and telling them that otherwise I would not speak to them, that I was able to make them rise, him and his company. As they were very numerous, and there was no room for all in the Gelià, my companion, Captain Tibao, ordered to spread on a sandy stretch, at the foot of some trees, some mats, and over these two good carpets, on which we all sat down.// Then, all came to kiss my hand, and that with as much devotion and respect as if I had been a saint or Bishop. And it is not to be wondered at, for in those parts they show more respect to a Religious than to Bishops in some places in Europe.

When this ceremony of welcome was over, the Japon Captain began his address, saying that all the Japon Christians were very happy at my coming. They had long wished for it, because for more than seven years they had not been visited by their Prelate or any other Father, on account of the wars, and other untoward happenings. So, they hoped, by the mercy of God, that with my advent and by means of the spiritual food that I would minister to them, they would be left in the grace of God, and derive much consolation. They trusted also in the Divine Majesty that the Mogo King would receive me very well; and so they nourished hopes that, at my request, he would grant them permission to raise a Church in their district, a thing which they had been trying to obtain for more than two years now, but which he had always been postponing.

Col. 2.

In reply I told them to be sure that, as in duty bound, I would do everything possible to give them much satisfaction in things spiritual, as well as temporal, provided they were just; and that, though my coming on that occasion was to ward off the danger threatening the Christianities of the Kingdom of Chatigan, / yet they were well aware I had written to the Christians of Digriparà¹² that, at the beginning of summer, I would come to see them, and to work to the best of my ability for their progress.

While I was engaged in this speech, the Puchiquè was announced. So, we all rose and went to meet him. He came, together with our good solicitor, on an elephant with a gilded turret. He was accompanied by forty servants, who came in front, besides other servants, according to the custom of the land. Among the latter they bring some lads, more clever than dull, who are employed in carrying the tobacco and betel utensils, as also vessels of water for drinking, and for washing the feet and the unclean

parts, when necessary. So that, for these trifles they use six or seven menials, when one could do the whole; but, for the sake of greater authority and dignity, they distribute the work as follows. One carries the tobacco box in a bag. Another carries the pipe through which smoke is inhaled. It consists of a nolà,¹³ or fine reed, having from four to six palm-spans in length, and called chungà.¹⁴ One end of this nolà is fitted into a coco-nut (*vn coco*) finely worked, and filled with water, in order to cool the smoke passing through it. A third carries a fire-pan containing red-hot coals. A fourth brings the betel-box with all its instruments inside. Finally, there are // two others. One carries the aquatic beverage in a curious earthenware flagon (*gorgoleta*) fitted in a case (? *barsa*) made of rota,¹⁵ or thin Bengala cane, of which, when fresh (*verdes*), innumerable beautiful curiosities are made. Some make the cases (*barsas*) of other material, and fit them with a lock and key. The last of this cortege bears a jug, usually of metal, and full of water for various ablutions, chiefly those of the feet, which they wash before entering the houses of important personages.

P. 63, Col. 1.

The Puchiquè brought all these attendants. On his alighting with his companion, we took him to the Gelià, the poop of which had been decorated for the purpose. All the others remained outside. After the usual courtesies and ceremonies, we made him take his seat in the chief place, which had two coloured cushions of the finest down. After sitting down, he stood up—in which we followed him¹⁶—to deliver the King's message, which he conveyed in the following words: "Father (*Padre*), the Padchà, the Master of our heads,¹⁷ sends me, the smallest ant of his pantries, to welcome you, and to request you to send news of the Viceroy of India. He has also commanded me to bring you with me to lodge in the City, where you will be till you have the great happiness of being taken to his Royal presence."

Col. 2.

To this I replied that, by the grace of the true God, / not only had I arrived well, but that I was now enjoying the favours of his Majesty, all of which were mercies from the supreme God whom the Catholic Christians served, and who had permitted my safe arrival, in order that, following the orders of my superiors, I might be at his Majesty's service, as the letters I brought him would show. So it was, I continued, that I came to submit myself to his good pleasure, begging of his Benignity to take me, and the other Portuguese residing in his dominions, as his loyal servants, for in his service they would time and time again risk life itself, as they had always done, both in the reign of his grandfather (*su aguelo*), the great Annaporàn, and in that of his Father Xalamixà, of happy memory, monarchs who had always befriended the Portuguese, as much for their good services, as for their firmness and constancy in the hardships of the past wars of Pegù and Asaràm, and against the Mogol power. I went on to say that I trusted in God to have the

good fortune of being admitted to his Royal presence, where I would show with very clear and plausible reasons that we were all of us his loyal servants.

P. 64, Col. 1.

The Royal messenger, who was delighted with this reply, rejoined: "May it please God that all things happen as you wish; and I affirm by our Porà that my wishes are at one with yours." After this, we all resumed our seats. Continuing on // the same subject, the Puchiquè assured us that the King was well disposed towards us, and that, on hearing our case, he would surely order the return of the Corangrì with the fleet.

When the visit had reached this point, Captain Tibao made a sign to one of his servants to bring the collation, which was served with all possible order and regularity. The refection over, came the adia, or present, which was carried by five servants, and consisted of five Chinese gilt trays, which were brought on purpose for similar occasions. Four came full of pepper, cloves, cinnamon and cardamom; the fifth contained three Chinese pieces, two of satin, and one of velvet. Though the Puchiquè showed some restraint and gravity, yet he accepted them by placing his hands on his breast, and bowing his head in sign of gratitude, whereupon everything was immediately delivered to his servants.

Col. 2.

And, knowing that his brigantine had arrived, he told us that, on account of the heat of the Sun, he wanted to take us by the River, as this would be more to our liking. Hereupon, he sent for the brigantine, which was a work of sculpture, with many heads of beasts and carved representations of grotesques and foliage. The whole poop was decorated in green and gold, the awning had a ceiling, and there were curtains in scarlet and yellow. The boat had twelve oars on each side, and, before the Paiques set themselves to their task, I approached our // solicitor, and told him that those Japones had come to visit and accompany me, and that we might, out of courtesy, take at least their Captain in our company. To this he replied to me that it was necessary to ask the favour from the Puchiquè, and that, if granted, I should be very thankful for it, for the Japon Captain was very much below his rank. So, I went to the Puchiquè, and, conforming myself to the Mogo style, asked him leave to request a favour. The permission being granted, I begged for a place in his brigantine for the Captain of the Japones, and that it would be an honour conferred on me personally. Without any objection, he told me that he granted my request, because he regarded me as a Bay, ¹⁸ which means Brother.

I thanked him for this, after the local custom, and sent to the Japon a Christian with the news of the honour which the Puchiquè wanted to bestow on him. He was so pleased with the tidings that he rewarded the bearer well for it, and came immediately. As soon as he reached the brigantine, Captain Tibao and the Mogo gentleman, our Friend, went to

P. 65, Col. 1. receive him. And, approaching the Puchiquè, the Japon made to him great bows and curtsies (*sumbayas*¹⁰ y *cortesias*). Then he sat near me, and told me that he was very thankful to me for the honour done him for my sake, and that, besides the common obligation of serving me as his Prelate and a Religious, he was now under a particular one, // which he would try to discharge, if God gave him life. And not only was the Captain, whose name was Leon Donno, grateful for this good luck, but all the Japones came to thank me for it, for they are by nature the most ambitious of honour of all the Oriental nations, and, when honour is concerned, they would for a trifle sacrifice their life. And this kindness stood me in such great stead later on, when I tried to make those Christians lead a Christian life, that, after the divine assistance, it was my most valuable help.

Col. 2. These things being over, and / the boatmen (*paiguaria*) being set in order, we left our moorings, which, as I said, were a league below the landing-place of the City. Presently, we entered a watery street, with houses on both sides, which could rival the most orderly streets on land. And such was the traffic and the concourse of the small craft that we could scarcely pierce our way through the middle of the River. Finally, we reached the Gatte, whither the Puchiquè had sent some officers to keep the place clear.

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW WE REACHED THE PAGODE OF THE PORAGRI, AND OF THE FIRST AUDIENCE GIVEN US BY THE KING OF ARRACAN.

Col. 1, *infra*. As soon as we landed at the Gatte, or the landing-place, of the City, we found four elephants with gilt turrets, besides some Ceriones (*Ceriones*) and Catchpolls (*Corchetes*) of the Puchiquè's, who were awaiting us together with other officials and servants of this minister. The latter took us to his house, where he had prepared a most plentiful repast after the Mogo style, in which entered, / besides the clean things, various unclean ones, such as rats, snakes and the like.¹ In these banquets they use also meat and fish together, all of it in different fricassees, for they set on the table one hundred or two hundred small dishes full [of viands], in order that each one may taste what he likes best. They do not use bread, but eat instead cooked rice, as well as cakes of many kinds made with the flour of the said rice. //

P. 66, Col. 1. Fish is usually eaten in a rotten state. Though it is abundant and of very good quality in those parts, they purposely let it rot, giving as a reason that thus it becomes more tasteful. They use also many kinds of

herbs, which they call by the general name of 'Xaga,'² which means the same as Greens (*Bledos*).³ They have also the custom of putting in all their fricassees a mixture composed of various kinds of fish, called Sidol,⁴ which is made when the fish is most rotten and fetid. The bones are removed, some brine is added, and the whole is ground to a mass; after being dried in the sun, it makes the sidol, which, as I have said, they use in all their dishes. The poor and ordinary people use a kind of sidol, which, when put to the sun, neither dogs nor cats care to eat, and so there is no need of keeping watch, which otherwise would be necessary. And, when this latter kind of sidol is exposed to the sun, it stinks so badly, that passers-by not accustomed to the stench have to put their hands to their nose. The rich and well-bred people use another kind of sidol, which is better, for they make it with prawns, very clean ones too; and after peeling, they grind them with other ingredients and salt, so that it becomes passable, especially in dishes of fish and vegetables, for it makes them tasty.⁵

Col. 2.

When the banquet was over, / the Puchiquè accompanied us to some very good houses, which he had had prepared for us, and, leaving us there, he bade us farewell with many courtesies and offers [of service]. On the second day of our arrival, we set about to arrange in a new way the *adià*, or present, which we would present to that Highness, so that, when he sent for us, there should be no delay on our part. The gift consisted of a great Imperial crown, made with much art of pungent and aromatic cloves, and a case of Persian scented waters, containing one hundred bottles, each of which held a little more than half a pint (*quartillo*), as bottled in Persia. In addition to this, there were fourteen scented bags of the purest Catay⁶ musk (*almiscle*), and four yards of very fine Spanish green cloth.⁷

P. 67, Col. 1.

After arranging these things, I began also to prepare the best stand available in order to celebrate [Mass]. The Japon Christians brought for this purpose some pieces of various silks, and carpets, with which the stand was well decorated. And, after making the altar, I adorned it with a frontal of white damask, having mottos of embroidered red velvet, made in China, and I placed thereon, under a canopy of various coloured silks, a picture of the most Holy Virgin of Good Success. Besides this picture there was a Crucifix of polished white ivory contained in a curious // case, gilt with gold on a green ground (*caxa dorada de oro, y verde*), also of Chinese workmanship. There were also other curiosities, which I had brought on purpose, in order to say Mass decently.

That night some Christians came to me for confession. Learning that some of them had not been to confession for eight or nine years, or at least for two or three years, I instructed them in the way necessary to prepare for such lengthy confessions, and I told them that, as there was no

danger, they might postpone their confession till they had made a suitable preparation. They approved and departed. When they had left me, there came a man of over middle age, who, prostrating himself at my feet, addressed me in a plaintive voice : " Father, I am a Christian, but for the last nineteen years I have not been to confession. I live at a distance of half a day's journey from here. Four days ago, I had news of your arrival. I began immediately to prepare for confession. For the last eleven years I have been living with a Gentile woman, of whom I have several children, all of whom I have instructed in the Christian religion, according to what I learnt during some years I spent among the Portuguese. The chief reason why I have not been to confession for so many years is that I was abysed in my sins. Besides, for the last seven years the Religious of Saint Augustin have not, owing to the wars, been able to come over, as they used to.⁸ Now that God, by His divine mercy, has brought this occasion to my door, I do not wish, having waited so many years, to tempt any longer His divine Majesty. So, I come to place my soul in the hands of Your Paternity, in order that, as my pastor, you may guide her, for I come prepared for anything that you may order for her good. The mother of my children wishes to become a Christian, and, when she is baptised with the children, I shall marry her by the Catholic rite. For the present I should be glad, Father, if for the love of God you heard my confession to-night, for I do not wish to delay it any longer."

Col. 2.

I replied that I would do so with the greatest pleasure, as it was my duty. Thereupon, we entered the oratory which I had prepared for celebrating [Mass], and, sitting down, I began to hear his confession. During the course of it, the good man shed so many tears of sorrow and contrition that often, choked therewith, he could not speak. When the greater part of the night had been thus spent, he said to me : " Father, I am so exhausted that I cannot for the moment continue my confession without taking some rest." So, I took him to where he might rest, and I too went to rest till daybreak, when, after blessing some water, I heard the confessions of some of our company, who wished to receive communion. After this, I returned to the penitent of the previous night, // and, finding him now in a fit state to continue his confession, I heard him till he finished with great signs of repentance. And, after speaking to him of the great mercy bestowed on him by God, and on other things calculated to make him persevere in his good purpose, I absolved him. The man was so happy and pleased that words failed him to express his gratitude. He told me that he wished to hear Mass, but that he dared not receive yet in his soul the true God, so soon after casting out of it so much filth of sins. "Two days hence," he said, "I shall return with the best possible dispositions, and I shall bring also my family to

P. 68, Col. 1.

be baptised : and then I shall receive communion and marry the woman according to the prescriptions of our holy law." I replied that I thought well of all he said ; I assured him that nothing would be wanting on my part, and requested him not to depart before seeing me again.

So, the Mass and the sermon, which I preached on the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, being over, the congregation went away, there remaining with me only the Christian, whom I had told to wait, and from whom I informed myself as to the number of the Christians there might be in those villages. He told me there were only a few, for the greater number resided in Arracan, and that the former lived in those villages because they were the slaves of a great Lord of that Kingdom, whom the previous King had presented with the / said Christians, as they had been taken prisoners in some cossàs of his enemies, the Mogores, whose salaried servants they were. And, on my asking him if they could come to where I was, he replied that they would not do so without their master's permission. After this, I ordered him to be provided with food, and dismissed him.⁹

Col. 2.

As we expected to be sent for by the King at any moment, every delay seemed to us long. And thus we remained the whole of that day without any news, being in consequence very sad.

The following morning, I said Mass, and prayed during the same to our Lord to cast the eyes of His divine mercy on those Christianities. After the Mass, the Courtier, who was soliciting the Royal audience, came to see us. We were much consoled with this visit, chiefly when he told us to be cheerful, for the reason why the King had not sent for us was that he was in the days of his fast, which would last another three days, at the end of which he would at once call us to his presence.

With this news our imaginary anxieties decreased. So, I made arrangements to send word to the Christians that, during those three days, they could come to confession, which they did, beginning to come soon after the hour of vespers. And, as the confessions covered so many years, though the penitents did not exceed forty, yet during these three days and a great portion of // their nights I had much to do. In the meanwhile, the above-said Christian came with all his family, and, after reconciling himself and receiving holy communion, he introduced them to me. Finding them all well instructed in the rudiments of our most holy religion, I baptised them all, five in number, to wit the mother and four children. And after baptising the mother, I married her to the father of her children. This being over, I informed myself again about the captive Christians, and he told me that there were nine families, all living by their work, and that they did not come to the City without their Master's permission. However, I made a list of the names of the heads of families, in order that, finding a suitable occasion, I might ask the King for them.

P. 69, Col. 1.

When his fast was over, the King, before coming out to give audience, consulted first of all the Raulines, who are his Priests (*Padres*).¹⁰ Such is the custom on many occasions ; for these pagan nations are so much given to superstitions and omens that they see a meaning in everything : so that, if, when leaving or entering their houses and rooms, some animal passes in front, or somebody happens to sing, shout, or make any noise on that occasion, they at once consult their priests, or Soothsayers, about these accidents, and the latter put into their heads any fiction they think best. So, they told the King that it was / necessary to wait for the following day, till the hour at which he used to send food to his Idol, and that, after sending the food, he should order nine birds to be released, in order that these might go first to present his fast to the Porà, and that after these pious works he was free to do anything he liked.¹¹

Col. 2.

These silly pious works of the devil being over, by the virtue of which he thought himself preserved from what he had been told, the news spread quickly through the City, on the following day, that the King was going to visit the Pagode, or Idol. There was, therefore, a great gathering of Lords and courtiers to accompany him. After his visit to the Idol, he gave much alms to the Raulines, and, returning home, he gave orders to the Puchiquè to bring us to his presence after his meal. The Puchiquè did so with much diligence. With a large suite he came where we were to take us, and brought, instead of Trunked (*Trombifferos*) elephants, very neatly adorned ciriones, in which we went to the Royal palace. We entered, and went on till we reached a hall, where was the Peguan guard, which came at once to receive the Puchiquè, or chief justice, and master of the household, accompanying him to the second hall, where was the guard of the Mogores.¹² From the second hall, we passed on to the third, where were some of the chief lords, to whom // the Puchiquè made great reverences, in which we followed him.¹³ Then we reached a middle-sized door, which the Puchiquè struck three times at measured intervals. At the last knock, a shutter, which was on the door, was opened, and there emerged an old hunch-backed Eunuch, who with his ugly face could quiet the most sulky child. This Monster (*Endriago*) asked us with much anger and greater pride what we wanted at that hour at the door of the Master of our heads. The Puchiquè answered this arrogant question with subdued voice and much humility, saying that by the command of the Lord of his head he had brought those Portuguese foreigners, and that one was a Father. At this reply the semi-man closed the shutter with such force that one might have thought he wanted to fling it at our faces.

P. 70, Col. 1.

At this place we remained kneeling over half an hour in deep silence : and what astonished me most was that, on examining and re-examining every side of that large hall, I noticed the same silence was kept by all. So I fancied that, perchance, there had been a revival of the incanta-

Col. 2.

tions of those happy knights-errant, the Palmerins and Esplandians and the like, ¹⁴ and that there had been conjured up Dwarfs (*Enanos*), and Monsters (*Endriagos*) similar to the Eunuch, and I believe there could have been none more ugly than he in face and build. From this thought we were awakened by a beautiful and most graceful maiden, / who, opening the shutter a second time, presented herself to our gaze, dressed in a snow-white dress adorned with artificial flowers of various colours, from the ends of which hung a profusion of rich pearls. As an ornament to her black hair, she carried white natural flowers. Encouraging then our hope, the lovely Annunciatrix, a presage of our coming success, said to us with a smiling and merry countenance: "Happy strangers, be you as welcome as the longed-for rains, when they are necessary to our fields, for, you will participate in the smile from the mouth of the Master of our heads."

Immediately after this brief address, the door was opened by some venerable matrons, who led us to present ourselves before his Mogo Majesty. ¹⁵ And, as soon as the Puchiquè sighted the latter, he prostrated himself thrice, a ceremony in which we imitated him. ¹⁶ His Majesty was seated at a window, which faced a hall where were some Princes. A matron led me to a seat near them, Captain Tibao being seated a little further back, while the Puchiquè was on his knees in the middle of the hall. ¹⁷

P. 71, Col. 1.

While we were in this position, our adià, or present, arrived. It was carried by some Eunuchs, who, after showing and presenting it in our name to the Mogo Monarch, took it back. When // this function of offering our present was over, the Ramallù, or Interpreter of the Portuguese, ¹⁸ approached me and asked me in the name of his King what it was I desired, and how I had dared to set out at such a time from Dianga. At this question, as I came well prepared, I stood up promptly, and bowed profoundly, in token of my gratitude for the mercy the King bestowed on me, by deigning to speak to me. This is a ceremony which this nation observes towards its King, for they deem it a great boon to be interrogated by that Highness.

After this ceremony of thanks according to the Mogo etiquette, they made me resume my seat, and the Interpreter asked me in a low voice in the Portuguese Tongue to expose my business, for it was a good occasion. So turning my eyes reverentially to the Royal Majesty, I said to him:—

"Great and powerful Padchà Sodromaxà Boaxàm, ¹⁹ —The fame of your greatness and valour is such that it reaches parts far distant from this your Hemisphere. It, and the affection which you bear to the Portuguese, reached also our Indian Hemisphere, and they do not excite there any surprise: for, as a true descendant and heir of the great Annaporan, your Grandfather (*Aguelo*) and of Xalamixà, your Father of happy memory, ¹⁹ you not only imitate their greatness and valour, but also maintain the good relations which they had with

the Portuguese, thanks to / whom the first obtained the greatness he sought, and the second gained the liberty he had lost in that lamentable and unfortunate Pegù war.²⁰ And, if this and other examples do not influence you, for being of the past, perhaps the present ones may do so. For you, mighty Padchà, and your Kingdoms experience every day the loyalty with which the Portuguese and the Christians living in your dominions serve you, caring nought for their lives, and exposing themselves to the greatest dangers to guard the frontiers of your kingdoms against the overwhelming power of the Mogol. And not satisfied with this, everybody knows how many raids they make every year with their fleets on the lands and Kingdoms of Bacalà, and Solimanuàs, Jassòr, Angelim, and Ourixa, thereby not only decreasing the power of the enemy, but also increasing yours. For, your father of happy memory having left these Kingdoms almost depopulated owing to the loss of many people in the various wars he waged against the Mogores, Asarames and Pegùs, it is chiefly through the Portuguese that you see them again peopled to-day, for they brought to your dominions entire Cities and villages (*poblaciones*), there being years when they introduced over eleven thousand families.²¹

P. 72, Col 1. "And should any adviser of yours, unfriendly to the Portuguese, tell you that, in return for this, you provide them with handsome // incomes, that they are Lords in your land, and that their interest prompts them to serve you, to such a counsellor I should reply that they could obtain by far greater incomes and profits in the dominions of the Mogol, your enemy, if they cared to serve him. It is a matter of public notoriety in all these Kingdoms what diligent means the Mogores employed to win them over. For, in the year 1619, Abdulnauì, the then Nabàbo,²² or Viceroy of Daack,²³ promised in the name of his King to give them any mainas,²⁴ or salaries, they might ask, and the lands they might choose for their habitation. He also guaranteed they would have all the privileges they might wish for. And, in order that this offer might have the better effect, he asked the Portuguese in his lands also to write letters soliciting this coming. All these letters and designs they communicated to your Father of happy memory, and, when they could have freely gone and told the King to take his chance, they did not do so, but on the contrary they reassured him, and certified to him that they would never fail in reciprocating his good friendship, even at the cost of their lives. It is well-known also, Mighty Lord, to all your vassals, how in the year 1623, when Nabàbo Fatezangue governed the Kingdom of Daack,²⁵ the Portuguese residing in these Kingdoms were again solicited with formons (*formones*), or decrees, bearing the seal of his / King, who upon his Royal word offered to the Portuguese so many advantages that I shall not relate them in detail, for they are still fresh in the memory of many of your advisers.

Col. 2.

P. 73, Col. 1. "Then, if all that I have pointed out is true, as you are well aware, mighty Padchà, what reason can there be for giving credit to the biassed accounts of such an open enemy of the Portuguese as the Governor of Chatigan? And, believe me, Sire, time will show his loyalty and that of the Portuguese. I am come to your Royal presence to justify the fidelity of the Portuguese and other Christians. Therefore, I beg of you to order thorough enquiries to be made. And, should you find them at fault, it is right that, as they did nothing without my advice, I, as the mover, should be the first to pay the penalty of such a great misdeed. But I am sure you will find that in this matter we are absolutely innocent. And this innocence of theirs forced me, as their Pastor, to come to submit myself to your Royal power, trusting in the high and powerful God, Master of all Heaven and Earth, who will not permit your Royal power to be used except within the bounds of true justice. And may the same Lord touch you with His divine light, so that you may conform yourself in all things with his most holy will. You will then be // glorious, not only in this life, but also in the life eternal, a thing which I continually pray may be granted to you."

Col. 2. After this speech, I rose, and, making the usual courtesy, I resumed my seat. And the Mogo Monarch, casting his eyes on me, said to me: "Father, I am quite certain of all you have said. I also know the loyalty with / which the Portuguese serve me. And that you may see that my mouth speaks what my heart desires, I shall order at once the return of the Corangri." As now he showed his desire to rise, they lowered a curtain, not, however, before all present had prostrated themselves. With this all were dismissed, and were free to leave when they liked.²⁶

[*To be continued.*]

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NOTES TO CH. X.

P. 34, col. 1.

6. *Travelling from Hugli to Chittagong along the Ganges*.—Fathers de Souza and Fernandes, S. J., travelled the same way, *i.e.*, across the channels of the Sundarbans in 1598. On his return from Arakan in 1635, Manrique followed the same route, and again speaks of the Ganges. Cf. p. 228a. We need scarcely remark that one of the meanings of *gangā* is 'river' in general.

7. *Dianga*.—The Bengal Survey map, Sheet No. 409 (scale 1 inch = 1 mile) shows Bandar (*i.e.*, Dianga) on the left bank of the Karnaphuli River, almost at the mouth. It is called Firinghi-bandar or Bandar in O'Malley, p. 177. I doubt whether the Portuguese ever had a fort at Pahārtali, 2 miles from the civil station of Chittagong (O'Malley, p. 176). They could not have been there in Manrique's time. Father Barbe, Vicar of Chittagong, wrote on Sept. 5, 1843: "The first church [of the Portuguese on the Chittagong side] was built by them at Deang [Dianga], which is at the mouth of the river. The spot may yet be traced: it is on an elevated ground; the building appears to have been 80 ft. in length and 40 in breadth. Twelve Christian families live close to that spot, and I was told by a Mosulman, who is about 100 years old, that he recollected the time when some of the villages close to that

place were all inhabited by Christians. Since that epoch, some families are gone to Tipperah ; some to Neacolli [Noakhali], and the remainder are in different places of the Chittagong district." Cf. *Bengal Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, 1843, Vol. 5, pp. 268-271.

Dianga was the first Portuguese settlement on the Gulf of Bengal ; hence, before they settled at Satganw or Hugli, to go "to Bengala" meant to go to Dianga ; or, as they generally called it, Porto Grande. In de Barros' map we find only Chatigam (Chittagong) ; in van den Broucke's map, Dianga is correctly placed ; but 'Ramoe' in the immediate vicinity is an error. Blochmann (p. 233) identifies Dianga with the Dakhindāngá or the Bráhmāndāngá, both on the Sangú River, south of Chátgáon, where salt-golahs still existed, the word 'dāngá' signifying 'high land.' Whatever the etymology of Dianga may be, the place is not on the Sangú River.

"Texeira, and generally the Portuguese writers, reckon that [Chatigam] as a City of Bengala ; and not only so, but place the City of Bengala itself upon the same Coast, more South than Chatigam. Tho' I confess a late French Geographer [Baudrand] has put Bengala into his Catalogue of imaginary Cities, and such as have no real Existence in the world ; but I wish he had given us a more particular account of his Reasons." Ovington, p. 534. The city of Bengala, after the Portuguese had settled in Arakan, was Dianga, therefore. We hope to return to this vexed question.

8. *Fray Domingos de la Purification*.—See on him pp. 153a, 154a-156a, 159a-161b. For the last seven years he had been alone in Aracan. Therefore he had been there since 1622 at least. Manrique says (p. 153a) that, 8 years before his own arrival, Sept. 1629, Fray Domingos had had for companions Fathers Ector de los Angeles, Agustin de Jesus, Francisco de las Llagas and Mathew, all Augustinians. Three of these (?) had died of the contagion before Sept. 1629 (p. 34b).

On the term 'Vicar de la vara.' Cf. p. 6b, note.

P. 34, col. 2.

9. *Church and residence at Dianga*.—Cf. note 2 above. Close to the Church, was a small hill, from the top of which some natives discharged a falconet at Manrique, while he was hearing confessions, on the eve of Corpus Christi, or June 18, 1630. They wished to avenge themselves, because the Christians had been forbidden to lend them anything to enhance their Durga procession at the new moon of June. Cf. p. 157a.—The ruins of the church (still seen ?) at Dianga are very likely not those of the church which existed in Manrique's time. In the early days, especially in Arakan, churches were built of bambu, and such buildings lasted only 12 or 15 years (p. 106 b). In 1713 there were at Chittagong 3 churches, each with its Missionary, and half a league from one another. That year more than 2,000 persons were confirmed there.—In 1722, the (a ?) Church of Chittagong was dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe. Cf. *Bengal : Past and Present*, 1915, Vol. XI, p. 190, and note 1.

About the later Christian settlements of Jamalkhan, Khatolliah, Sultaipur, Noapara (on the Halda river), cf. *Bengal : Past and Present*, Oct.-Dec. 1910, p. 219. In 1713 the native Christians near Chittagong were called 'boctos,' probably from *bhakti*, pious, devout, religious-minded. I can add to the notes I published on this point in 1910 (*ibid.*, p. 220) some extracts from a letter of Fr. (now Bishop) J. Legrand, c. s. c. (Chittagong, June 19, 1910) :

"The word '*Boctos*' seems to imply an idea of piety and to mean "pious." This word is still current in several parts of our Mission. My assistant, Father Niard, who lived formerly at Toomiliah and Bandhura tells me that in the former of these places there is a pious association called "*bocto-somij*." At Nagari, near Toomiliah, and in the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Pádris, it is the same. At 2 or 3 miles from Toomiliah, there is a village called Boctarpur, which appears to have the same etymology. In the village of Chhoto-gola, at half an hour's distance of Bandhura, there is a *báirí* called *Bocto-báirí*. I have appealed to the memory of several of our Christians, juveniles of between 70 and 80 years. They have no knowledge of the *Boctos* you speak of."

10. *Arrival of strangers notified from Chittagong to Arakan.*—"And when any strangers arrive at Syrian [near Rangoon], the number of people on board, with their age and sex, are sent to him [the King residing at Ava!] to let him know that so many of his slaves are arrived to partake of the Glory and Happiness of his Reign and Favour, and the highest title his own subjects assume, is the King's first Slave" (1709). Cf. Capt. A. Hamilton, II. 44-45.

P. 35, col. 1.

11. *Father Fray Manuel de la Concepcion.*—Cf. on him p. 153a. It would seem that Fray Domingos left before the end of 1629, and that Fray Manuel de la Concepcion was poisoned also before the end of that year. The pagan festivity, which was the occasion of his being poisoned, was different from that in June 1630, which nearly cost Manrique his life, the first being celebrated in thanksgiving for some favourable news, the second in honour of Durga. The reason for the hostility was the same: the prohibition by the Missionary to lend articles of value to adorn the idol and the pagoda.

P. 35, col. 2.

12. *Position of Angaracale.*—No such place appears in the Bengal Survey map, Sheet 409 (1" = 1 mile). This port was about 3 leagues from Dianga (Chittagong). An arm of the sea divided it from Dianga. It was first a small village of fishermen, but became a Portuguese 'bandel' after Juan Errera Barbosa settled there. Cf. p. 158a. It was evidently to the south of Dianga, and must have been on the left bank of the Sangu River. Has the name survived on that side?

Abbate Tosi (II. 36) makes certainly a mistake when he says that the Augustinians, besides a residence and Church at Dianga, had another in two other big villages not far from it, Arracale and Angaracale. There is no Arracale in the edition of 1653; if there is one in the edition of 1649, it must be a misprint for Angaracale. At p. 174b, *infra*, the name is spelt Angalacale.

13. *Pagode.*—The word is used in old travellers either for an idol or for an idol-temple.

P. 36, col. 1.

14. Isaias, 42.8.

15. *The Mogos.*—See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Mugg. An excellent article, from which we take Wilson's definition: "a name commonly applied to the natives of Arakan, particularly those bordering on Bengal, or residing near the sea; the people of Chittagong."

P. 36, col. 2.

16. *Arrival of two more Augustinians.*—If we are right in supposing that Fray Manuel de la Concepcion was poisoned at the end of 1629, these two Missionaries

did not arrive till the second half of 1632. One of them must have been Fray Diogo Coulam, whom Manrique mentions as his companion (p. 153a). The name of the other is not stated. Both of them were at Dianga in 1635 (p. 221b).

NOTES TO CH. XI.

¶. 36, col. 1,
infra.

1. *Xalamixa II*.—Pronounce 'Shalamisha,' not Kalamiscia, as in Tosi (II. 34).

We collect here a number of facts about the Emperors of Arakan, as found in Manrique

One of the previous Kings of Chittagong was Alamanja, the younger son of Xalamixa I (*sic*), King of Arakan. He was killed in an attack on Chittagong by his elder brother, after the death of their father. Before this, Alamanja's daughter was married to the son of Sebastian Consalves Tibao, King of Sundiva. She had been baptised previously under the name of Maxima. Alamanja had two other children, and, when he was killed in the attack on Chittagong, the Portuguese Missionaries removed them to Hugli. The boy, after 7 years at Hugli, was baptised, at the age of 13, under the name of Martin; his sister, under that of Petronilla. Don Martin was next sent to the Augustinian Convent of Goa. At the age of 18, he joined the Portuguese fleet, hoping to recover Arakan from a tyrant who had killed his uncle. His title to the throne was that he was the legitimate son of Alamanja, and grandson of Xalamixa II (*sic*).

He served first in the armada of Don Ruy Freire de Andrada, General of the Straits of Ormuz (1624-25?); next, he fought on the Portuguese fleet against the Achinese before Malacca (1627-28), and was wounded. After that, he served on board the fleet of General Nuno Alvarez Botelho. When Don João IV. was proclaimed King of Portugal (1640), he went to Portugal, and died on the voyage back to India. His sister Petronilla died at Hugli. Thus Manrique in Ch. 28. The dates are gathered from Danvers' *Portuguese in India*, II. 224, 226, 227, 272. On the death of Dom Martin see another version in *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1915, Vol. XI, p. 185.

In 1634, Sodromaxa a grandson (*nieto*) or, at any rate, a descendant of Xalamixa, was reigning (Manrique, p. 143). In 1630, Manrique gives him the title of Padcha Sodromaxa Boaxam (p. 71a) or simply Boaxem, (p. 77a). His name appears also as Xadamaxa (p. 206b), and Xadramaxa II (p. 195, title). Manrique calls Xalamixa his father; and 'the great' Annaporan, his grandfather (p. 71a; p. 76a). However, at p. 168b, Annaporan is called his great-grandfather (*bisabuelo*). In 1634, Sodromaxa had been 12 years on the throne (p. 195a). Therefore, he had begun to to reign in 1622.

Sodromaxa must be identified with Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma, the 19th king of the City Myouk-u (Arakan), who reigned from 1622 to 1638, according to the Arakanese genealogies. Cf. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 303. His father, according to the same genealogies, was Meng-kha-moung, who reigned from 1612 to 1622; his grandfather was Meng-Ra-dza-gyi, who ruled from 1593 to 1612. Phayre (*Hist. of Burma*, p. 303) identifies Meng-Ra-dza-gyi with Xilimixa of the Portuguese historians. Probably, this Xilimixa is Manrique's Xalamixa I, Dom Martin's grandfather. If Meng-Kha-moung was Xalamixa II, Manrique must have made a mistake in calling

Xalamixa II, Dom Martin's grandfather. He would have been his uncle, and was probably the King who was slain by a usurper, according to Manrique.

In 1612, at the death of Xalamixa (the First, as I suppose), Dom Martin would have been 6 years old, since he was baptised at the age of 13, after 7 years spent at Hugli. In that case, he was only 16 in 1622. Who then was the usurper, since Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma was the son of Xalamixa (the Second, as we suppose)? Or how could Dom Martin's claims to the throne have been better than those of Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma? I remark, however, that the latter was slain (p. 217a) in 1638(?)

If Xalamixa II died in 1622, his second son, the king of Chittagong, survived him till close on Manrique's arrival in Sept. 1629, for the new Mogo chief was welcomed at Chittagong by Manrique and the Portuguese Captains. Manrique says (p. 162) that the king of Chittagong was generally the second son of the king of Arakan. The new Mogo chief could not have been Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma's second son, because Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma consented to setting him aside, when Manrique went to complain of him at Arakan in 1630. Besides, the 'Prince' or heir-apparent and the 'Infante' were both small in 1630 (p. 101a, 102b).

On the Xilimixa who reigned before 1612, cf. Danvers, II. 123. One Annaporão appears there as his brother, II. 145. But there must have been an earlier Annaporan; nor can we take literally Manrique's statement (p. 168b) that his ambassadors made a treaty with Don Garcia de Noronha, the Viceroy of Goa. The latter governed in 1538-40, which corresponds to the reign of Meng-beng (1531-53), the father of Meng-Phalaung (1571-93), whose name is the closest approximation to Annaporão. Annaporão would therefore have been Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma's great-grandfather, as Manrique once states (p. 168b).

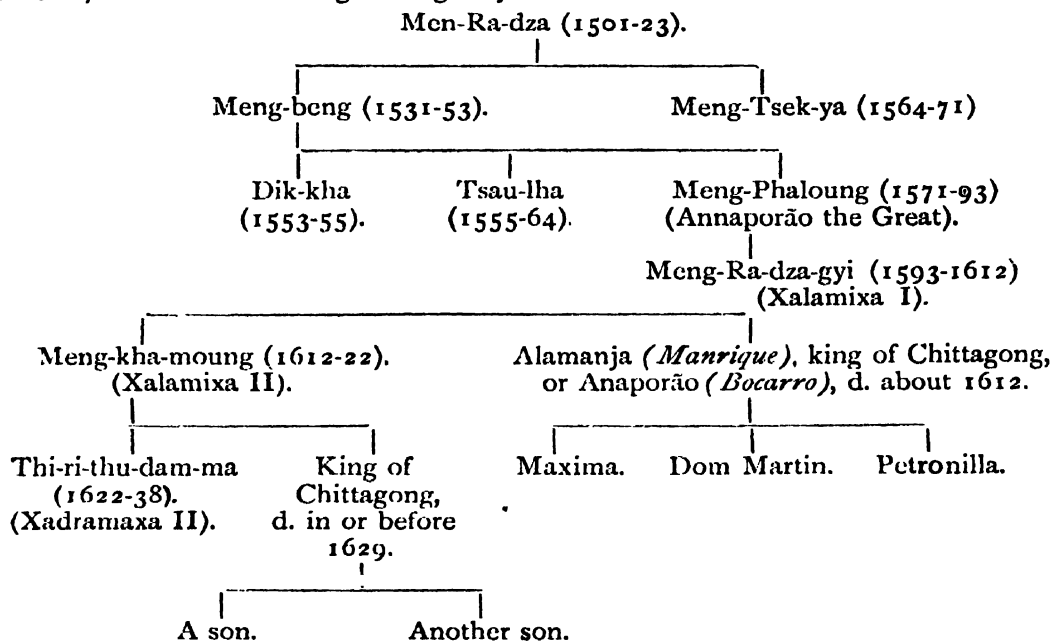
The following notes on the later Anaporão are from Antonio Bocarro's *Decada 13*, pp. 439-440.

King Anaporão, second son of the King of Arakan (Siltmisa, Cf. p. 121), and lord of the lands of Dianga, Saquecela (the Sacassala of Manrique) fell out about 1610 with his elder brother, the prince (*i.e.*, the heir-apparent or eldest son of the King) of Arakan, who claimed from him the strongest elephant of the country, and came to take it by force. Anaporão took refuge near Sebastião Gonsalves at Sundiva, after giving him his daughter as a hostage, and with his help he went to fight his brother; but, unable to resist, he withdrew with his household, treasures and elephants to Sundiva. His daughter married Sebastião Gonsalves. Not long after, Anaporão died, and it was suspected that Gonsalves had hastened his end. Gonsalves tried to marry Anaporão's widow to his brother Antonio Carvalho Tibao, but she refused to become a Christian. After this, Gonsalves attacked the King of Arakan, and his brother Antonio, with only 5 ships, took 100 of the King's vessels. The latter then concluded a peace with Gonsalves, who thereupon gave up the widow of Anaporão, and she subsequently married the King of Chittagong.

Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, Viceroy of India, wrote from Goa, 29 Dec. 1610, that Annaporão was with Seb. Gonsalves, who had married one of his daughters, and that Philip de Brito's son of Siriam (Pegu), was expected to marry another. Cf. *Documentos remetidos da Índia*, Tom. I (1880), p. 356.

Manrique mentions Alamanja only once, and his description of him tallies so much with that of the Anaporão of Bocarro that we incline to think they must be identified.

Comparing these notes with the Arakanese genealogies we obtain the following scheme, the dates indicating the regnal years :



Cf. Manrique, pp. 101a, 102b.

Phayre remarks (*History of Burma*, p. 124) that Xilimixa represents the Muhammadan name Salīm Shāh, and that Meng Soamwun, who founded Myauk-u (the town of Arakan), on his being restored to the kingdom of Arakan by Nazir Shāh of Bengal, (1430), agreed to be tributary to the King of Bengal. "This subordinate relationship did not last long, but from this time the strange anomaly occurs of Buddhist Kings using, in addition to their own names, Muhammadan designations and titles, and even issuing coins bearing the Kalima. This practice probably was first introduced in fulfilment of the promise made by Meng Soamwun, but was continued in later times as a token of sovereignty in Chittagong" (*ibid.*, p. 78).

In *J. A. S. B.*, 1846, pp. 233-234, Phayre describes three coins, one of each of the three kings Meng-Ra-dza-gyi, Meng-Kha-moung, and Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma.

The first is of A. D. 1601 (Arak. era 963), and bears on the obverse: "Lord of the white Elephant, Nārā-dib-ba-di Tshaulim Shyā," Nārā-dib-ba-di being Pali for 'ruler of men,' and Tshaulim Shyā standing for Salīm Shāh.

The second is of A. D. 1612 and bears on the obverse: "Lord of the White Elephant, Wa-ra-dham-ma Rā-dzā Oo-shyoung-shya." Oo-shyoung-Shya stands probably for Hussain Shāh, and the first part of the title is Pali for "excellent-law-observing king." If he can be identified with Manrique's Xalamixa II., we should say that, as in the case of several other kings, the Portuguese named him after his predecessor.

The third coin is of A. D. 1622. The obverse has: "Lord of the White Elephant, Lord of the Red Elephant, Thi-ri-thu-dham-ma Rá-dzá." There is no Muhammadan name on the coin. The Pali title means 'excellent righteous king.'

In 1683 the King was Sirda Souta Maraza, and his eldest son was called Ouga Balla Ingry. Cf. D. Havart, Pt. III, p. 62. The name stands for Tsan-da-thu-dam-ma Rája, and we are reminded of Manrique's Sadamaxa (= Sháh-dam-ma Sháh?).

P. 37, col. 1.

2. *Don Phelipe de Britto*.—His full name is Philip de Brito e Nicote. Cf. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, s. v. Nicote. He had made himself king of Siriam (Pegu), but the king of Ava took Siriam and had him impaled (1613). Cf. *ibid.*, II. 161.

3. *The Changa, or the great Captain*.—Derivation unknown.—The King of Arakan used to call Philip de Brito the Changa, and this was the name by which he was known by all in his kingdom. Thus A. Bocarro, *Decada 13*, p. 130. At p. 122, Bocarro translates *changa*, de Brito's title, by 'bom homem'—good man (=homem de bem=homme de bien).

"The King of ['Arecañ'] gave the Portuguese [de Brito] the name of Xenga, which means a lusty (?) fellow (*lustig man*): the Portuguese well deserved the title too; for 2, or 3 years later he took the son of this King captive and made him pay a ransom of 11,000 Tangas (*Tangans*), and 10. Galleys laden with rice." Cf. Pieter Williamson Floris, in van der Aa, p. 26. See also Danvers, II. 126.

4. Dianga was outside the city walls of Chittagong, since the Captain of Dianga was received at the city gate by the King's elephants. After the festivities, they returned to Dianga.—There was, indeed, a good distance between Dianga and Chittagong; moreover, the two places were on opposite sides of the river.

P. 37, col. 2.

5. *The district of Sacassala*.—Not identified. In the reign of King Xalamixa, the grandfather of Sodromaxa, the Augustinians were offered productive lands in the District of Sacassala. Cf. p. 143a: We find the word written Saquecela or Saquicela in Antonio Bocarro's *Decada 13*, p. 439. In 1610 Anaporão was King of Dianga, Saquecela and Ramu (*ibid.*).

6. *Patanga*.—From Manrique's description it was at the entrance of the Karnaphuli River, on the north or right bank, because, on entering the river, you had Dianga on your right, and arrived next in front of Chittagong (cf. p. 151b). At p. 221b, he says it was 2 leagues below the landing of the city (of Dianga?). The Bengal Survey Map, sheet 409 (1"=1 mile), shows Patanga on the right bank at the entrance of the Karnaphuli River, and sheet 408 shows another, a little higher and contiguous to it.

P. 38, col. 1.

7. *Corangari, or commander of the fleet and the army*.—Derivation unknown. Perhaps connected with 'coran' or 'coron,' for which see note to p. 53, col. 1. The ending 'gri' occurs still in Manrique in such proper names as Pungrin or Pungri (a Buddhist priest, from p'hun-gyi=great glory), Poragri (a place known for its idol Pora), Catagaris (the King's scribes). A. Bocarro, *Decada 13*, p. 126, defines 'corangari' as meaning "capitão geral do mar."

8. *Ramu*.—Cf. note to p. 40, col. 1.

9. *Arracan*.—Understand the town of Arakan or Myouk-u, now spelt Myo-haung.

10. *Mogol and Mogor*.—Manrique, I believe, regularly uses the form Mogol when referring to the Emperor, and 'Mogor' when speaking of his Muhammadan subjects.

11. *Asaranja*.—The word must mean 'king of Asaram.' Manrique distinguishes the kingdoms of 'Tipara' and Asaram, both of which, he says, bounded the Kingdom of Arakan on the north (p. 151b). The form Asaram must stand for Assam; but it is different from the forms discussed by Sir E. A. Gait in *Hist. of Assam*, Calcutta 1906, p. 240-241. I have met with old maps in which the kingdom of the Maghs is shown to extend along the Brahmaputra as far as Rangamati Ghat (the place from which in olden times travellers went to Koch Bihar), or at least as far as the Surma. Cf. *Bengal : Past and Present*, IV (1909), Plaisted's map of 1757 facing p. 601.

In this connection I may recall a quotation from Fray Sicardo, O. S. A. (1696): "In the camp of Bencomatis [Rangamati], on the confines of Assam, in the country subject to the King of the Mughls, there are two churches, one dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, the other to our Lady of Guadalupe." Cf. *Bengal : Past and Present*, Oct.-Dec. 1910, p. 221. Sicardo also states that the Portuguese settled at Rangamati had come from the Kingdom of the Mughls. The Church of O. L. of Guadalupe would have been different from that of the same title at Chittagong.

Van Goch, Vol. III, p. 89, says, after de l'Isle, that Assam on the south reaches 25°, and borders on Arakan. At pp. 53, 54, he states, after Ovington, that Arakan touches Tipora or Tipra, on the north, and the two towns (!) Assaram and Chocomas or Chacomas, both capitals of Kingdoms. Ovington borrows largely from Manrique, but Manrique says nothing of Chacomas.

The ending 'ja' of 'Asaranja' is found in Manrique in Pomaja, the name of the Governor of Ramu; in Alamanja, the name of a King of Chittagong; in Tontonja, the name of the Bhuiya of Orietan (p. 207a). Very likely, it is honorific.

12. *Christian women in the palace of Arakan*.—One of them was the wife of Leo Donno, the Japanese Captain. Cf. p. 98a.

P. 38, col. 2.

13. *Iassor*.—Jessore. They had gone evidently on one of their annual filibustering, slave-raiding expeditions against the 'Moghuls' of Bengal.

14. *Bartolome Gonsales Tibao*.—Probably related to Sebastião Gonsales Tibao, King of Sundiva (1609), perhaps his son. Cf. Danvers, *Hist. of the Portug. in India*, s. v. Tibao. Antonio Tibao was Sebastião's brother (*ibid.*, II. 145).

NOTES TO CH. XII.

P. 40, col. 1.

1. *Ramu*.—Ramu must have been reached, not by sea, but by the network of channels which connected it with Dianga. The Bengal Survey map, sheet No. 425 1" = 1 mile) identifies Ramu with Cox's Bazar. Sheets No. 79 and 84 of the Survey of India maps (scale 1:100,000) do not mark Ramu. L. S. S. O'Malley (p. 188) says it is a village in the Cox's Bazar sub-division, 9 miles east of Cox's Bazar, on the continuation of the Arakan road. It is a police outpost and an important market serving the south of the district. The map in O'Malley's Gazetteer of Chittagong shows Ramu east of Umkhali, and that seems to be the place visited by Manrique.

The Governor of Ramu in Manrique's time (p. 146b) was at the head of of the Chancery of Arakan, all farmáns having to be endorsed by him.

P. 41, col. 1.

2. *The Mountains of the Prè*.—Manrique uses more than once for the name of a king or chief the name of the country: e. g. 'the Brama' for 'the Burmese king.' 'The Prè' must be another instance. The mountains would have lain between Ramu

and the town of Peroem, which Manrique visited; but in the title of Ch. XIII, Manrique states that the mountains of the Prè separated Arakan from Pegu, and at p. 111, col. 2, we read that the high mountains of the Prè divide Arakan from Pegu on the south. Prè may have no affinity with Peroem, and, as the mountains traversed by Manrique run easterly into a chain which extends to the south as far as Prome, it may be that the mountains of the Prè are those of the king of Prome. Prome is written Prom by F. Mendez Pinto; another form I have found is Porem, and the transition to Prè is easy. On examining *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Prome, I find my surmise correct. "The name is Talaing, properly *Brun*. The Burmese call it *Pyé* or (in the Arakanese form in which the *r* is pronounced) *Pré*, and *Pré-myo* ('city')." Bocarro's *Decada 13* (1876, p. 142), is quoted with the form *Pren*.

3. *Peroem*.—The position of this town remains to be determined. We make some guesses further, when discussing Manrique's itinerary from Ramu to Orictan (Ch. XIV). We can gather at least this, that it was on a river, or on the sea, and that Myau-haung, the old capital of Arakan, could be reached from there by boat. Peroem is probably an Arakanese form equivalent to the Pré-myo, Prome, Porem of Burma.

4. *Rhinoceroses in Arakan*.—O'Malley mentions among the fauna of Chittagong, tigers, wild elephants, bears, leopards, wild cattle, also *gayāl* and *mithun* (*bos frontalis*), *sāmbar*, and the Sumatra rhinoceros with 2 horns and a hairy coat. Cf. pp. 12-13.

5. *A question of spelling*.—Whenever Manrique has to make the plural of an Asiatic proper noun ending in a consonant, he adds *es*. We find H. Cogan does generally the same in his translation of F. Mendez Pinto. It will simplify matters, if we follow Manrique's system. We shall not follow him, however, as a rule in his use of I for J, or V for U, and U for V, except in his Latin quotations.

6. *Band-khána* (Pers.): prison.

P. 41, col. 2.

7. There is a difficulty about the 2 leagues by boat from Ramu to the foot of the hills. Did the travellers go as far as Garjuma on the river, and from there join the road from Chittagong to Letyakan-Maungdaw-Pyabinyin? Did that road exist in those days? Garjuma is shown on the ၁၀၀၀၀၀၀ scale map. On the 1"=1 mile map, 'Garjania' is more than a mile away from the river, to the north; instead, we have a road to Arakan from Kaschhapi Market, which comes to the same.

From Ramu there is now a road to Tek Naf, but it does not suit Manrique's itinerary.

8. The word which we translate by "turret," is everywhere *andas* in the Spanish, a word without singular. We avoid the word "howdah" in our translation, because it is an Indian word not used by Manrique. The elephant which was loaded with the baggage seems to have had no howdah.

The howdah was water-proof. Hugh Murray (II. 103) says it was covered with oil-cloth. The Spanish does not say that.

P. 42, col. 1.

9. *A tiger near Ramu*.—From the ease with which the animal carried off its victim, we cannot doubt but it was a tiger.

10. *Tabib* (Arab.): physician. Manrique writes "tabibo" at pp. 83a, 87a.

P. 43, col. 2.

11. *The party for Arakan*.—*Aquellos infieles, que iban en nuestra compañía, que por todos eramos ochenta y tres personas*.—The party contained 53 prisoners and 30

soldiers ; one of the soldiers having been killed by a tiger 2 leagues from Rámu, we get 82 persons. At p. 43b, Manrique says they were altogether 83 ; but, a few lines lower, we hear of 11 Christians ; these would comprise Manrique, Captain Tibao, and 9 Christian servants. In fact, several Christian servants of the Captain are mentioned at p. 41b ; a Christian slave of the Captain carried a message from Orietan to the Corangri (p. 57a) ; Manrique had taken also 2 Catechists from Angaracale and Dianga (p. 82b). The party therefore must have consisted of some 93 persons.

12. Probably, the howdah was not taken down for the night, as the place was infested with wild beasts. The next night, after the howdah had been broken, all slept on the trees.

13. *Mandando luego deshazer lo demas, que auia quedado de las andas.* I understand that they took the howdah from the elephant and removed what was valuable in it, the cushions, carpets and quilts.

P. 44, col. 2.

14. *Kitáb* (Arab.): book.

15. *Injil* (Greek): Gospel, New Testament.

16. *Namáz* (Pers.): prayer.

17. *Nasráni* (Arab.): a Christian.

18. *Sháibash, sháibásh* (Pers.): bravo ! excellent !

19. *Masjid, masjid* (Arab.): mosque, temple.

P. 45, col. 1.

20. *Bará rasúl*=great prophet.

21. *Tuuba, tuubáh* (Arab.)=repentance. The gesture and the exclamation of the Moors show that they were shocked.

P. 45, col. 2.

22. *Furqán* (Arab.): the Qorán (as distinguishing truth from falsehood).

23. *Padre ji, Alláh karím, Alláh mihar-bán.* *Ji* is often pronounced *jiu*.

P. 46, col. 1.

24. *Nasíb* (Arabic): fate, destiny.

P. 46, col. 2.

25. *The Mountains of Maum*.—Cf. Chapters 29, 30. Manrique visited these mountains from the town of Arakan in 1634, some Portuguese prisoners, who had been there since 1608, having invited him to come and see them. I am inclined to think Maum can be identified with Mhunau, some distance in the mountains N.-E. from Myo-haung (old Arakan town). Cf. sheet No. 84 of the 1000000 scale map, Survey of India. Abbate Tosi, who relies entirely on Manrique, places the mountains of Maum near the Maum river (Vol. 11, pp. 34-35), which would give one to understand that they are what we now call the Mayu Range. The Mayu River does not take its rise in what I consider to be the 'Maum' mountains.

26. *Manrique's age and character*.—We know he died in 1669, but ignore the year of his birth. I fancy him in 1630 a man of about thirty, hale and hearty, naturally curious, taking an interest in everything he saw and heard, with a sufficient knowledge of Hindustani, Bengali and Arakanese (for he quotes from the Burmese books later), and not devoid of a sense of humour. He smiled or laughed too readily when engaged in discussions on religion. At least, so thought his Muhammadan co-travellers to Arakan (p. 44b). On another occasion (p. 180b) a Raulin told him that, if the Portuguese Raulins joked when talking of business, the Mogo Raulins did not.

What will strike more and more the reader as he proceeds, is the minuteness of Manrique's descriptions. There are hundreds of details, which, writing 10 or 15 years

after the events, he could not have remembered, unless he had an angelic memory. The conclusion must be that he kept a diary. Ordinary people do not keep diaries.

NOTES TO CH. XIII.

P. 46, col. 2,
infra.

1. *The roar of tigers on the way.*—Phayre writes in his *Hist. of Burma*, pp. 271-272: "From what is said [by Manrique] of the 'roar of tygers and other wild animals,' it is probable that he heard the loud deep-toned cries of the hoolook ape, which resound dismally in those dark forest solitudes, and startle the traveller to this day. The doleful sounds would alarm those who did not know the source of it, for the animal generally keeps hidden from view." Phayre would not have spoken thus, if he had known Manrique from the original, instead of through Hugh Murray's *Histor. Account of the Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, II. 96-114.

P. 49, col. 1.

2. *Out of breath.*—Not, I fancy, owing to the height, but to their fatigue.

P. 49, col. 2.

3. I cannot find the word *aleà* in any dictionary, European or Indian. Manrique knows the word *ati* for *hāthi* or *hātī* (Sanskrit)—elephant, but the feminine form of that word is *hathni*.

P. 50, col. 1.

4. *Assaram.* = Assani, most probably.

P. 50, col. 2.

5. *A canal cut across the mountains.*—Probably it was the sight of some of the traces of this engineering feat which called forth the Mogo tradition. The tradition must still exist and point to the exact place where the work was undertaken. In that case it would be possible to fix with accuracy the course of Manrique's journey through the mountains.

6. *The ridge of the Pora.*—The sitting posture of the idol is not characteristic of Buddha only. The statue does not appear to have been one of Buddha. There is more about the Pora in Ch. 23. The description there given should help some of my readers to identify the god. The attributes of the idol are much the same as those of the idol worshipped at Tinagoogoo in Calaminham (Burma), and his horrid car-festival in December is almost the exact counterpart of what F. Mendez Pinto relates of Tinagoogoo (cf. Mendez Pinto, ch. 47). I may also remark that Manrique uses frequently the word Pora in the plural, as if it were a generic name.

The "epithet of Aloung-phura, or Phura-loung, has been assumed by many of the Kings of Burma, as an augury of their apotheosis, and implies a being who is destined to become a *phura*, by attaining '*niebban*.' Gautama attained '*niebban*' in 543 B. C., and thus became a Phura." Cf. Lieut. Gen. Fytche, *Burma, Past and Present*, London, 1878, I. 67.

P. 51, col. 1.

7. The intention of the party seems to have been to continue by land to Arakan, since they spoke of using the elephants after Peroem. However, on arriving at Peroem, Manrique asked the Governor for a fast boat. As only one boat was supplied, the party of prisoners must have remained behind. There was not the same hurry for their departure, and the weather was bad for the journey by '*gelia*.'

NOTES TO CH. XIV.

P. 52, col. 1,
infra.

1. *Ceriones.*—This word is not in *Hobson-Jobson*. The King of Pegu, says Ralph Fitch (1587), goes abroad "sometimes vpon a great frame, like an horsliter, which hath

a little house vpon it couered ouer head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, and set with many rubies and saphires, and is carried upon sixteen or eighteene mens' shoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion." Cf. *Ralph Fitch*, p. 162 ; also p. 169. Manrique's cerion was not a covered conveyance, since he had to use an umbrella ; but some were covered (p. 217b).

2. *Sombreros*.—According to Fitch, the people of Medon, a place between Cosmin (Bassein) and Dela, in Pegu, "haue all their merchandizes in their boates with a great Sombrero or shadow ouer their heads to keepe the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaues of the coco trees and fig [plantain ?] trees, and is very light." *Ibid*, p. 155. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Sombrero, and plantain. *Sombrero* is derived from the Portuguese *sombra* = shade.

In 1709, the King of Ava called himself King of the twenty-four white Somereros or umbrellas. Cf. Capt. A. Hamilton, II. 44. "And as King of the twenty-four white Somereroes, I believe few Kings will much care to dispute that glorious title with him, for those Somereroes are only common China Umbrellaes, covered over with thin Chormondel Beteellaes, and their Canes lack'd and gilded, and because his own Subjects dare not use any such Umbrellaes, he wisely lays his imperial Commands on all other Kings to forbear wearing of them when they go abroad."

3. *Que tendran de rueda lo que tienen las Romanas de Michael Angelo Bonarota*. I translate as above, since Manrique makes *quitasoles* masculine. But, perhaps, the reference, is not to the parasols of the Roman ladies, but to the circumference of Roman cart-wheels in Michael Angelo's time. That, however, appears less likely.

4. Each of the four trays was carried by a servant, therefore.

P. 52, col. 2.

P. 53, col. 1.

5. *The Gulf of Maum*.—See my notes on Manrique's itinerary from Ramu to Orietan (n 19 *infra*). In Bocarro's *Decada 13* there is question of 3 fortresses in 1615, viz. those of Chatigão, Maju (also written Maim) and Ramu, "all three capitals of Kingdoms." Cf. Pt. I, p. 443.

6. *The New Moon in July 1630 and Manrique's chronology*.—

One of my friends, mathematically inclined, finds that the New Moon in July 1630 was on July 11. Now, either Manrique is mistaken, or I am wrong about the month, or the year 1630, which I assume all along as the year of Manrique's first journey to Arakan. It is a pity that Manrique obliges us to settle his chronology so painfully from the few dates he has given us. I do not see, however, how I can change the year 1630. A friend, who had repeatedly studied the book before me, had come to the same conclusion, when he noted marginally that the feast of the Visitation after which Manrique left for Arakan was that of 1630.

The feast of the Visitation since 1389 has been on July 2. Manrique arrived at Ramu on July 5, and he seems to have indicated his daily rate of progress up to Peroem. The courier who had come from Arakan to Dianga by land, under similar meteorological conditions, had covered a much longer distance in 12 days (June 19—June 30). Manrique's journey through the mountains from Ramu to Peroem appears to have been normal, except for the 4 days he lost at a river. Before the mathematician interfered, my conclusion was that Manrique had reached Peroem on July 16, and that as he was told the next day that there would be New Moon 4

days later, this phenomenon occurred on July 21. Cf. note 19 of ch. XIV, where the dates in parentheses are deduced from the narrative. The New Moon of July 1629 was on the 22nd; but that year is out of the question, since Manrique had reached Dianga only on Sept. 25, 1629. The New Moon of July 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635 was on the 30th, 19th, 8th, 26th and 15th respectively, and the difficulty is not solved for any of those years.

The years 1633, 1634 and 1635 are not to be considered, besides, as we learn by working back from other data. Manrique left Pipili on Febr. 25, 1636 (p. 255b), after several months in Orissa, whither he had come from Arakan, after January 23 (1635), the date when the Emperor of Arakan was crowned (p. 214a). He had previously touched at Dianga, and he notes that he made his confession after about 2 years (p. 221b). This agrees with other statements. He says at p. 177a that, some 6 months before the Emperor's Coronation, he had been detained already 17 months at the town of Arakan. This would mean that he had come from Dianga about March 1633, which agrees with the statement that he was in Arakan, the second time, in 1634 (p. 143a). If his first journey to Arakan was in July 1630, he would have been back in January or February 1631, for he returned in January (year not given), after witnessing at Arakan the Sansaporau procession of December (1630). On June 19, 1630, a clear date, he had been at Dianga for the Corpus Christi feast (p. 157a). For the 11,407 baptisms of slaves conferred by himself and three companions between Sept. 25, 1629 and 1634, at Dianga and Angaracale, he would have been himself at these places only from Sept. 29, 1629, to July 2, 1630, January or February 1631 to about March 1633, and a month or so in the beginning of 1635. One of these companions had died a fortnight after arrival (end of 1629?), and the two other companions arrived only nineteen months after that event, therefore not before the second half of 1632.

7. *Coram*, or officer of justice.—Etymology of the word unknown to me. Perhaps connected with the word Corangri (see note to p. 38a). At p. 147a, Manrique compares the 'corones' to the 'corchetes' or catchpolls of Spain and the sbirri of Italy. For greed and mischief a single one of them, he says, was worth a legion of devils.

P. 53, col. 2. 8. *Orietan*.—I identify it with Urittaung, on the mouth of the Kaladan river, above Akyab, on the 93° of long. Discussing the place-names in de Barros' and Bleau's map, H. Blochmann says he could not identify Maou (Maoa in Bleau) and Orieton. Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Pt. I, 1873, Plate IV and p. 233. Maou would be Manrique's Maum, but badly placed by de Barros. The latter also placed wrongly near Orieton Bacala Island and Bulua; the town of Arakan is also placed unsatisfactorily. Cf. de Barros, *Da Asia*, Dec. IV, Pt. II, map facing p. 450.

9. The hospitality of the Governor of Peroem may be compared with that of the Governor of Ramu (pp. 40a-41b). Manrique was everywhere treated with the honour due to an ambassador. At Ramu they were the Governor's guests at table, and he gave them 2 elephants; at Peroem, they were supplied with ceriones, sombreros, food and a gelia; and, when they left the palace to embark, two elephants were in readiness to take the Priest and the Captain. All this was less spontaneous than in accordance with Mogo state-etiquette.

10. *Sombreros, with ivory handles, a sign of greatness.*—Cf. Manrique, p. 219a.
- P. 54, col. 2. 11. *Païques.*—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Pyke. It means a foot-runner or courier, a foot-soldier, and, in some other authors than Manrique, *e. g.*, Bocarro, a seaman.
12. *Mirdhú* (Hind.): an officer employed by government in villages, an overseer, excise-man. How do we come to the meaning of 'pilot'?
- P. 55, col. 1. 13. *Peroem.*—Abbate 'Tosi (II. 35) seems to run beyond his authorities when he writes: "After a dangerous navigation [from Orietan by the Gulf of Maum] one comes to the City of Peroem, which, as it is situated near the sea, and has a very capacious and commodious harbour, is very mercantile, and not a little frequented by foreigners. Here resides a Governor, who holds a goodly court, and wields almost absolute power."
- P. 55, col. 2. 14. *Patwál* (Hind.): rudder.
- P. 56, col. 2. 15. *Chaukidár* (Hind.) a watchman. "Custom-house" should be translated by *chauktí*.
- P. 58, col. 1. 16. The Maghs, the Peguans, the people of Siam, Calamiña, Champa and Tonquin.
17. *Swearing by the Pora tattooed on one's right leg.*—"The Bramas which be of the kings countrey (for the King is a Brama) haue their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they think good themselues, made black with certain things which they haue: they vse to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kind of anile [indigo] or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them: but nome may haue it but the Bramas which are of the kings kindred." *Ralph Fitch*, on Pegu in 1587. And J. H. Ryley, adds (p. 173 n. 2). "The practice of tatooing the upper part of the leg is still in vogue among the male population of Burma."
- "The Barmaes imprint several Devices in their Skins, prick'd with a Bodkin, and the powder of Charcoal rubbed over the little Wounds, while the Blood continues wet in them, and the black marks remain ever after. The Peguers dare not paint their Skins, so that the Natives of each Nation are easily known by the distinguishing Mark of Painting or Plainness." Cf. Captain A. Hamilton, *A new Account of the East Indies*, II. 48-49.
- Major W. Gwynne Hughes' (*Hill Tracts of Arakan*, p. 15), quotes Mr. St. John (1870): "Tattooing is practised, but not as in Burma, the utmost being a few charms on the back or shoulders."
18. *The Poragri.*—See note 8 of the next Chapter.
19. I understand that the Corangri promised to bring him in 2 days, not to Arakan, but to the Poragri. From Orietan, in the Corangri's jalias, they arrived at the Poragri in 2 days; from Poragri to Arakan, they took 2 days again.
- Manrique's itinerary from Ramu to Peroem and Orietan.*—The party left Dianga on July 3, 1630, and had reached Ramu by boat on the third day of their journey (July 5). Here they were told that the journey along the shore was impossible in the rainy season. They left Ramu on the second night after their arrival (July 6), and travelled in a covered boat for 2 leagues up to the foot of the mountains of the Pre. After leaving their boat, they travelled through a forest, till by 4 P.M. they came to

fields covered with water over an extent of two leagues. That night, the violence of the wind broke the howdah of one of their two elephants (*July 7*). The next day they crossed the swamp, ascended the mountain, and spent the night on the trees at the summit (*July 8*). Going down the next day at daybreak, they reached the foot by 11 A.M., and found some empty bamboo huts, where they took shelter. The huts had been made by a party of soldiers, who had passed there. The road was therefore not unfrequented. Under ordinary circumstances Peroem could be reached 2 days later (*July 9*). The following morning they climbed another high mountain, met a herd of wild buffaloes, and arrived at the summit late in the evening. As there was no shelter, they went to the foot, found no huts, and spent the night on trees, near a river (*July 10*). This was probably the Naf River, which lower down passes by Letyakan. They were detained 4 days by the rains and the swollen river (*July 11-14*). On the other side, they had to climb the highest mountain they met on the way; they reached the top at night, and descended for half a league to sleep on the trees. Their sleep was disturbed by wild elephants (*July 15*). The highest point I find in the map is Kulungataung, 2512 ft., but I doubt very much whether they passed that way. The next morning, they continued the descent, and hoped to reach Peroem that day. Arriving in the valley, they walked two leagues, till they came to two smaller ridges divided by a deep river. Remark about the projected canal across the mountains. Their way lay over the ridge to their left. On top was a statue of the Pora. At the foot, they crossed rice fields and arrived at 'Peroem,' when it was almost night (*July 16*).

Peroem was on a river, and an important place, since it had a governor. They spent only one day there (*July 17*) and in the morning (*July 18*) set out in a 'gelia,' after being told that they would find it very hard to cross the Gulf of 'Maum.' Peroem seems, therefore, to have been on the Maum, by which I understand the Mayu River. Was it perhaps Buthidaung? Some 20 miles higher up the river, there is a place called Pelun, but how could the travellers have come from there in one day to the mouth of the Mayu River? Besides, the river at Peroem was broad, since it is compared to the sea. Even Buthidaung may not answer our requirements.

As they had only one gelia, we suppose that the prisoners and the soldiers were left behind.

After 5 hours of hard rowing, they reached the middle of the current of the Gulf of Maum, struggled on for 2 hours, travelled another 2 leagues, and by the evening ran into the Gulf of Orietan, where they landed for the night (*July 19*). The next day, going up 'rivers,' they reached the harbour of Orietan (*July 20*).

Orietan is evidently the Urittaung of our maps, some 15 miles above Akyab, at the mouth of the Kaladan River. They must have reached Urittaung from the mouth of the Mayu river, going, not round by sea, but across a network of inland channels; else, I do not understand the use of the word "rivers."

Some parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are unsurveyed in the 1"=1 mile map, and this increases the difficulty of following Manrique's journey in the mountains.

NOTES TO CH. XV.

2. *Peacocks*.—Pheasants are mentioned in the fauna of Chittagong ; not peacocks. But we may trust Manrique.

P. 59, col. 2.

3. *Cheapness of food*.—We have adduced many instances of this cheapness in Ch. 5, note 17 ; Ch. 6, note 12.

4. *Manrique's itinerary from Orietan to Poragri and Arakan*.—The Corangri, who was 3 leagues from Orietan, sent a jalia of his guard, which brought Manrique and Captain Tibao to where the fleet was anchored. The Corangri told Manrique to give up the route to Arakan, as the King was at the Poragri, and take another, by which he would send them (to the Poragri?) in two days. He gave him 3 jalias. They started on the second day after their arrival at Orietan, crossing the Gulf of Orietan, in calm weather. They seem, therefore, to have returned to Orietan after their visit to the fleet, and the fleet would then have been lower down the river. Next, they went by rivers. The following day, after two hours of sunshine, they were in open, well cultivated country, and by night arrived at the Poragri. Unable to reach the *ghât*, which the boats of the King's retinue blocked, they moored their jalia more than a league below.

Contiguous to Urittaung there is a place called Ponnagyin ; but it cannot be our Poragri. It would be the place of the Orietan pagoda mentioned by Schouten, I. 196. The name must be a common one in a land of pagodas, the chief god of which is a 'Pora.' There is a Ponnagyitaung some 20 miles south-east of Urittaung. It has a pagoda, and the map shows it could be reached through a network of rivers. From there to Myohaung, or the town of Arakan, there is communication by water. Manrique travelled from Poragri to Arakan by jalia, stopping one night on the way and arriving the next day at his destination. At the place where they stopped for the night, the chief Portuguese of Arakan town came in their boats to meet him.

The position of Poragri would be defined by that of the villages of Cuami, if Cuami could be found. Cf. note 9 to Ch. xvi.

5. *Ghât* (Sanskrit)=landing place.

P. 60, col. 1.

6. *Floating towns of Arakan*.—This multitude of boats is typical of Arakan, Pegu, and parts of China. For the latter, see F. M. Pinto, *op. cit.*, Ch. 28. Ralph Fitch (1587) says of Cosmin (Bassein, Pegu): "They goe all too and fro in boates ; which they call paroes, and keepe their houses with wife and children in them." The same at Medon, "a pretty towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houses and their markets in them all vpon the water." *Ralph Fitch* by J. H. Ryley, pp. 154-155.

That the pleasure boats of the Kings of Arakan and Pegu were truly magnificent, could easily be proved from the Portuguese historians.

P. 60, col. 2.

7. *Escomillas, or gauze from China*.—Our suggestion at note 13 of Ch. IV, *viz.* that escomillas came perhaps from Comilla, receives a check here. We had not then come across this passage in Manrique.

8. I am not sure of the author's meaning. The Spanish is "muchas cortes de Europa, adonde esta en vso que despues que reciben las manchas, quedan tan limpios, como si la mancha fuera de agua, pues no dura en muchos la memoria de la auer recebida, mas de lo que dura la mancha de agua, que cae en el vestido."

By stain, Manrique seems to allude to "receiving a bribe." The dictionaries translate "mancha" by "stain, blot, stigma."

P. 61, col. 1.

9. *A bribe of some tangas.*—Under Sikandar Buhlol (1488-1517) we find *black* (or copper) tankas. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, v. s. tanga. I do not think that the expression *tangas de mancha* is based on that. I translate by "bribe of some tangas." See note 8 above. At p. 59b, Manrique says that a tanga is a rupee (Arakan). So too Schouten (I. 301) in 1660: "The smallest silver pieces current in Arracan are worth a Tang, or Moorish Roupie, which is 25 Sous, Dutch money, and when you change one, you get 2660 couris [cowries]."

"Their current money in these parts [Pegu] is a kinde of brasse, which they call Gansa, wherewith you may buy golde, siluer, rubies, muske, and all other things..... This brasen money doeth goc by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or somewhat lesse" (1587). Cf. J. Horton Ryley, *Ralph Fitch*, pp. 165-166. The Peguans, says Capt. Alex. Hamilton (1709), have "plenty of Ganse or lead, which passeth all over the Pegu Dominions for Money." Cf. II. 40.

10. *The Puchiquè, or master of the king's household.*—Derivation unknown. At p. 78b there is question of the Chiquè, or Aguazil mayor, chief constable. The form of the latter word for Pegu is given as Chirca in Fernão Mendez Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 438, 439, 458. "The Chirca of Justice, who is as the sovereign superintendent thereof above all others" (p. 438).

The Connsellers of the kingdom of Arakan "are called Sikken." Follows a description of their costume. Cf. Valentyn, 5de deel, p. 142a. For the spelling Sicken, cf. *ibid.*, p. 141b. And see Schouten, I. 297.

P. 61, col. 2.

11. *Japanese Christian soldiers at Arakan.*—Father Anthony Farinha, S. J., who went from Dianga to the town of Arakan in (1639?), speaks of 3 bandels at Arakan: that of the Japanese, that of the Portuguese, and that of the other foreigners, Dutch, English and French. "Having been received by the King, they [the Japanese] had settled there in large numbers with their families; all were Christians." From an (annual?) letter of 1640 (Province of Cochin?). Cf. *Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, January 23, 1907, p. 59. Had they fled from the cruel persecutions to which they and their Missionaries were then subjected at home? The number of foreign soldiers in the armies of Burma at different times is something remarkable. Large numbers were from India. Cf. Fernão Mendez Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 302 (where the number is given as 36,000), 305, 313, 321, 423.

P. 62, col. 2.

12. *Digripara.*—It was a quarter of the town of Arakan where the Catholics were settled. Cf. p. 198a, where Manrique notes that it was near the Church he erected at Arakan (1630). There the form is Digripar. See also p. 82a. Schouten, who has an interesting description of the place (I: 284-286) says it was 2 leagues above the town, while the Dutch bandel was at a big league below the town (I. 197).

13. *Nal* (Sanskrit): a reed (*Arundo kurka*); a tube; joint of bamboo; *nál* (Sanskrit): tube.

14. *Chongá* (Hind.): a funnel.

P. 63, col. 1.

15. *Rota* (from Malay *rotan*): rattan. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. rattan.

"The Quality of an Officer [in Ava] is known by his Tobacco Pipe having an earthen or metallick Head, with a Socket to let in a jointed Reed, that on its upper End has a Mouth-piece of Gold, jointed as the Reed or Cane is, and by the Number of Joints in the golden Mouth-piece, the Quality of the Officer is known, and Respect paid him accordingly." Capt. A. Hamilton, II. 47.

16. *Standing up out of respect*.—When the Corangri swore by the Pora, he stood up, and so did Manrique and the Portuguese Captain (p. 58a). Here, all remain standing as long as the Puchique speaks in the King's name.

17. *The King of Arakan, the master of our heads*.—The expression will occur repeatedly in Manrique. "The sovereign of our heads," is the title given by the people of Pegu to their king (1545) in F. Mendez Pinto's travels, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

P. 64, col. 2.

18. *Bhāt* (Hind): brother.

19. I have not been able to identify the word 'sumbaya.' It is commonly used in Goa for "bowing and scraping."

NOTES TO CH. XVI.

P. 65, col. 2.
infra.

1. *The Arakanese vile eaters*.—"These people [the Peguans] do eat roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing." (1587). *Ralph Fitch, op. cit.*, p. 162. Manrique mentions also bats (p. 211a).

P. 66, col. 1.

2. *Sāg* (Sanskrit): greens, vegetables.

3. The Spanish word "bledo" means properly wild amaranth.

4. *Sidol*.—Origin of the word unknown to me.

5. *The better kind of sidol*.—"Every morning, these Mandareens are obliged to attend at Court, and after his Majesty [of Ava] has drest and breakfasted, which is generally on a Dish of Rice boiled in fair Water, and his Sauce is some Shrimps dried and powder'd, and some salt and Cod-pepper mix'd with those two ingredients, and that Mixture makes a very pungent Sauce, which they call *prock*, and is in great Esteem and Use among the Peguers" (1709). Cf. Capt. A. Hamilton, II. 42. "The fish, which already stinks, is the most esteemed by them, and is sold dearest, as we have often seen while passing through the fish-markets." Schouten, I. 300, 301. There is question of the town of Arakan in 1650.

P. 66, col. 2.

6. *Cathay*.—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Probably, Tibet is meant here.

7. The Spanish word for "cloth" is "limiste": cloth made of Segovia wool; cloth of the first quality.

P. 67, col. 1.

8. *No new Augustinians sent to Arakan during 7 years*.—Cf. note 3 to Ch. X. Manrique might have said 8 years now, for the man spoke in 1630, and, already in 1629, Manrique had said that there had been wars for 7 years, during which no new Missionaries had come. The wars would have began in 1622, when the king reigning in 1630—we have identified him with Thi-ri-thu-dam-ma—ascended the throne. Shāh Jahān was then at war in Bengal against his father Jahāngir.

The Japanese Christians said that they had not been visited by their Prelate or any other Father for more than 7 years (p. 62b). Of the 40 Christians who made their confession to Manrique at the Poragri (p. 68b), some had not been to confession

for 8 or 9 years, or at least 2 or 3 years (p. 67a). For the last 2 years the Japanese had asked the King in vain for permission to build a chapel at their bandel at Arakan (p. 62a).

P. 68, col. 2.

9. *The 9 Bengali (?) Christian families at the village of Cuami.*—The Christian who had not been to confession for 19 years (*i. e.*, from 1611) lived at half a day's journey from Poragri. We hear there were 9 Christian families (p. 69a). They lived in the villages of Cuami (p. 77b), or, as they are also called, at the villages of the Poragri (p. 91a). When called, 5 Christians were immediately sent on; 9 others were 3 days farther in charge of the king's elephants. The place could not have been far; in three days they could go from Poragri to their villages and be back (p. 80a). See also p. 90b-91a. At p. 79a, they state that they had been captured 13 years before, (*i. e.*, 1617), when the King's father reigned (p. 68b). Cuami may be connected with the Kamis, of whom several settlements are found along the Kaladan River.

P. 69, col. 1.

10. *Raulins.*—A general name for Buddhist priests in Arakan, says Manrique (p. 112a). Manrique does not use the word Talapoin in connection with Arakan or Burma. The word Raulin ought to have a special entry in *Hobson-Jobson*, but I find it there only in a quotation from F. Mendez Pinto, s. v. Talapoin.

P. 69, col. 2.

11. *Birds carrying messages to the gods.*—On his way from Nanquin to Pequin, F. Mendez Pinto describes a floating town on the river Bataumpina. "...There were many boats likewise, where there were men that had a great many of cages, full of live birds, who playing on divers instruments of musick, exhorted the people with a loud voice, to deliver those poor creatures of God, that were there in captivity, whereupon many came and gave them money for the redemption of those prisoners, which presently they let out of the cages; and then as they flew away, the redeemers of them cried out to the birds, *Pichau pitanel catan vacaxi*, that is, *Go and tell God, how we serve him here below*. In imitation of these, there are others also, who in their ships kept a great many of live fishes in great pots of water, and like the sellers of birds invite the people, for God's cause, to free those poor innocent fishes, that have never sinned; so that divers bought many of them, and casting them into the river, said, *Get ye gone, and tell there below the good I have done you for God's sake.*" (Ch. 28). I remember reading not long ago that at Lucknow, in the thirties of last century, Indians would come with bird-cages in their hands, run along the carriage of an English gentleman occupying one of the highest dignities in the land, and set the birds free to do him honour.

12. *The Peguan and Moghul guard of the King of Arakan.*—The Chaubainhaa of Martaban had in his army (1545) 36,000 strangers of different nations. "Portugals, Grecians, Venetians, Turks, Janizaries, Jews, Armenians, Tartars, Mogores, Abyssins, Raizbutos, Nobins, Coracones, Persians, Tuparaas, Gizares, Tanucos., Malabares, Jaos, Achems, Moens, Siams, Lussons of the Islands Borneo, Chacomias, Arracons, Predin, Papuaas, Selebres, Mindancas, Pegus, Bramaas, and many others whose names I know not. All these nations were ranked according to the Xenimbrums order, whereby the Portugals were placed in the vanguard, which was next to the gate of the city, when the Chaubainhaa was to come. After them followed the Armenians, then the Janizaries and Turks, and so the rest." F. Mendez Pinto, end of Ch. 41.

P. 70, col. 1.

13. *The palace at the Poragri*.—The palace of Arakan had three walls, each with a gate (Schouten, I. 289); the palace at the Poragri was probably on the same plan. At any rate, Manrique, was there made to pass through three halls before he came to the audience-hall, where the king showed himself sitting at a window. At the end of another interview at the Poragri, he accompanied the king up to the third door, where only women and eunuchs were allowed to enter with the king (p 78a).

14. *Palmerins and Esplendians*.—Don Quixote's library contained the history of Palmerin of Oliva, and another of Palmerin of England. Cf. *Adventures of Don Quixote de la Mancha*, transl. by Motteux, London, Warne & Co., Ch. 6, p. 22. The adventures of Don Esplandian, son of Amadis de Gaul and Oriana, formed a special book in Don Quixote's library, those of Amadis filling 4 volumes (*ibid*, p. 21). The author of Don Esplandian's exploits is Montalvo.

P. 70, col. 2.

15 *A reception calculated to impress the visitor with one's master's greatness, etc.*—The rudeness of the dwarfish eunuch was in keeping with eastern etiquette. Hear how the ambassador of the King of Burma was received at Timplan, the Court of the King of Calaminham (Burma) in 1545, F. Mendez Pinto being one of the ambassador's party. He was expected, just as Manrique was; the guards had been drawn up in great numbers to salute him; the greatest demonstrations of respect were shown him while he passed through the different courts and halls leading up to the King's apartments; the King's uncle was waiting for him in one of the halls, and touching him on the head with a 'ventiloe' [fan] which he had in his hand, he spoke almost in the very words used by the lovely Annunciatrix of Manrique. "May thy entrance into this palace of the Lord of the World be as agreeable to his eyes as the rain is to our field of rice, for so shall he grant thee all that thy King demands of him." They moved through another hall, and up a splendid bridge. "At the end of this bridge was another building, the doors whereof we found shut, whereupon we knocked 4 times, they within not deigning to answer us, *which is a ceremony observed by them in such occasions*. At the length after we had rung a bell 4 times more, *as it were in haste*, out comes a woman of about 50 years of age accompanied with 6 little girls, richly attired, and scymitars upon their shoulders garnished with flowers wrought in gold. This ancient woman having demanded of the Monvagaruu [the King's uncle, who was past 70 years] why we had rung the bell, and what he would have, he answered her with a great deal of respect, "That he had there an ambassadour from the King of Bramaa, the Lord of Tanguu, who was come thither to treat at the feet of the Calaminham about certain matters much importing his service." By reason of the great authority which this woman was in, she seemed little to regard this answer, whereat we wondred much, because he that spoke to her was one of the chiefest Lords of the Kingdom, and uncle to the Calaminham, as it was said. Nevertheless one of the 6 girls that accompanied her, spake thus in her behalf to the Manvagaruu, "My lord, may it please your greatness, to have a little patience till we may know whether the time be fit for the kissing of the foot of the throne of this Lord of the World, and advertising him of the coming of this stranger, and so according to the grace which our Lord will shew him therein, his heart may rejoyce, and we with him." That said, the door was shut again for the space of three or four

Credo's, and then the six girls came and opened it, but the ancient woman that at first came along with them we saw no more." And not a little more to the same effect of impressing the visitor. True barbarians in many things, these potentates were far advanced in matters of politeness. See F. Mendez Pinto, Ch. 49.

16. *Saláming the King 3 times*.—Probably they performed more than the *tassalima*, which Manrique explains at p. 77b. They must have actually knelt down and with their forehead touched the ground.

17. *Kneeling before the King*.—"When Pots of Water, or Baskets of Fruits are carried through the Streets for the King's use [in Ava], an Officer attends them, and all the People that fortune to be near, must fall on their Knees, and let it pass by, as a good Catholick does when he sees the Host" (1709). Cf. Capt. Alex. Hamilton, II. 45.

When Manrique visited the old Pegu Queen at Arakan, 6 women were kneeling before her (p. 99b); and, when the Chique had to read in public one of the King's *farmáns*, both he and all the audience were on their knees (p. 104b). The King's eldest son, on presenting something to his father, knelt before him (p. 102a).

P. 71, col. 1.

18. *The Ramallu or interpreter of the Portuguese*.—He was not a Portuguese. At p. 75b, he is described as the interpreter for the Portuguese language. Etymology of the word unknown to me.

19. See Ch. XI, p. 36a (*infra*), note 1. The derivation of the word Boaxám remains to be explained.

P. 71, col. 2.

20. *Captivity of the son of the king of Arakan*.—This happened in 1602-03. Cf. Danvers, II. 228. Frey Francisco d' Annuniação, a Dominican, brought him back to Arakan in 1607, and was offered aldeas at Dianga, but asked that revenue should be applied to the convent of his Order then building at Siriam. Cf. Fr. Luis Cacegas and Fr. Luis de Sousa, *Hist. de S. Domingos*, Pt. III, Lisboa, 1767, p. 352b.

21. *11,000 families carried off captive from Bengal in one year*.—Manrique says at p. 152, col. 2, that within the "5 years" of his stay in Arakan (1629-35), the Portuguese and Magh slave-raiders brought to Dianga and Angaracale about 18,000 souls from Bengal. Jessore, Solimanvas, Bacala, Hijili and Orissa were the chief hunting grounds; no part was secure from Chittagong to the Hugli. The pilgrims at Saugor Island were much exposed.

P. 72, col. 1.

22. *Abdu-n-Nabí, Governor of Dacca in 1619*.—Can anyone favour me with a note about this governor?

23. Dacca.

24. *Mahiná*; (Pers. Hind.; month, monthly pay.

25. *Fatezangue, Governor of Dacca in 1623*.—Ibráhim Khán Fatha Jang was a relation of the celebrated Núr Jahán Begam, whose mother's sister he had married. When Qasim Khán was recalled to court from Bihár in the 12th year of Jahángir (1616), Ibráhim Khán was appointed to Bihar with the rank of 4000. He was killed at Dacca, A. D. 1623, A. H. 1032, in battle against Prince Khurram (afterwards Sháh Jahán), who had rebelled against his father Jahángir. Cf. Beale's *Orient. biogr. Diction.*, 1894, p. 173, and see Stewart's *Hist. of Bengal*, 1813, pp. 221-229. On both Abdu-n-Nabí and Fatha Jang, see Manrique, p. 151. The former attacked

Chittagong by sea, the latter by land, in the reign of Xalamixa (the Second ?) ; and, but for the 750 Portuguese in Xalamixa's service, Chittagong would have been taken.

P. 73, col. 2.

26. *Etiquette to be observed towards Ambassadors and by them.*—The Puchique, or Master of the Household, was told to fetch Manrique and Captain Tibao with two elephants and give them good lodgings. He came to acquaint them with his instructions ; then, taking them in his brigantine up to the ghát of Poragri, where four elephants with gilt howdahs, cerions and carriers were waiting, he conducted them to his own house, treated them to a sumptuous repast, and showed them their lodgings. On the day fixed for the audience, he came to fetch them and had them taken in cerions to the palace. Manrique's present must have been sent ahead, for such was the custom he observed on other occasions (p. 99a). In fact, the presents were brought to the King by eunuchs. When Manrique went to the town of Arakan later (chs. 17, 18), a kotwál was made to accompany him and arrange for his lodgings. He was also supplied with food, according to custom.

We may compare with this what happened on the occasion of the Dutch embasay (1660) related by Schouten (I. 196 *sqq.*). At the Dutch Bandel of Arakan, a big league below the town, the 'Sickes' or Counsellors of the King, came on board, and some of them took offence that they had to pass under a bridge over which stood some of the Dutch. When the Captain gave the Dutch President of the Lodge the letter of the Governor of Batavia, the latter held it up, according to custom, to be seen by all, as a sign that the good relations between the two nations continued. The Sickes, after receiving their presents, took them off in their jalias, and the Dutch officers of the Lodge carried the letter, according to custom, to the Lodge, where it was to remain until the King allowed an audience. As the letter was not allowed to pass under decks or bridges over which people passed, a number of elephants were waiting on the bank of the river to take it to the Lodge.

On the day of the audience, the Embassy started. The Kotwál of the Bandel went ahead on an elephant, followed by a large retinue. Then came the 'Roos,' or second magistrate of the Bandel, with a similar suite and musicians. The Dutch came next with their presents. The President rode an elephant, and the Captain and the clerk came on another. The procession traversed the town and all got down at the entrance to the palace. They passed several big gates (for there were three lines of walls), and traversed other places up to the audience-hall. Only the President, the Captain and the clerk were now allowed to proceed, and not till they had taken off their shoes.

"After that they were led all three through divers apartments to the audience-hall, where a large number of Sickes, and of the greatest Lords of the Realm were seated richly dressed on magnificent carpets, their legs crossed under their body. Presently, the Dutch were told to bow, as if they had been squatting [*sic*], to bend their head to the ground, their hands joined on their forehead, and to reiterate several times these deep reverences and humble inclinations.

"Then the King appeared, coming out of a closet, and all held their hands joined on the forehead, and bent their head, as if they dared not look at His Majesty. The three Dutchmen always kept the said posture, without daring to raise their eyes and

behold the Monarch. They tried withal to have a peep at him, but two chamberlains, who watched them, quickly got hold of their head, and made them bow."

The interpreter received the letter and the presents, and placed them very humbly in the hands of those who had to receive them. After complimenting the King in the name of the Dutch, he asked them in his master's name about the health of his brother, the Governor of Batavia. The presents given to the Dutch were despicable. They received them on their heads, not daring to move, and found out only by and by that they were not worth more than 3 ryksdalers. When the King withdrew, they were allowed to rise. They returned in the same state in which they had come, and the cramped condition they had been forced to keep so long made them call for the services of the surgeon and historian, Schouten.

[*To be continued.*]

The Members' Note-Book.

THE following interesting facts about the Calcutta Maidan are extracted from the judgment of Mr. Justice A. Chowdhuri recently delivered on the Calcutta Turf Club case :—

“ I do not understand that it is seriously questioned that the land in question belongs to the Crown. At the date of the Dewany (12th August 1765) the East India Company held by purchase the Talukdari right of Calcutta and of the adjacent villages Sutanutty and Gobindpore. In 1767 the revenue of the Taluq was fixed, and in 1758 the Port and City of Calcutta was made *lakhtiraj* in the hands of the Company. The Company had acquired by the year 1765 all the rights in the revenue of Calcutta and its villages. (See Harrington's *Analysis*, Volume I, pp. 2-3, and Aitchison's *Treaties*, Volume I). The lands of these three villages were partly occupied by the Company, but the major part was held by tenants who paid rent to the Company direct. The lands of Calcutta thus became Khas mehal. The ground rent payable to the East India Company, is revenue within the meaning of 21 George iii C. 70. (See section 2 of Act 23 of 1850.) On the 29th June 1790, the year when the first rules for the Decennial Settlement were passed, it was directed that land in Calcutta which had always been managed as zamindari in the hands of the Government, was to be considered as pledged for the revenue, and liable to be sold for arrears in the hands of the purchaser from the defaulter. (See Colebrooke's *Supplement* 492). Reg. IX of 1793 provided amongst other things the right of the Government to assess lands held by the Crown and by Reg. II of 1793 the collection of revenue payable to Government was committed to Collectors, who were empowered to make the future settlement of Khas or farmed Estates. In 1793 the Government transferred in perpetuity a vast quantity of land to zemindars, and the property in the soil was formally declared vested in them. The remaining lands cultivated or waste continued to be the property of the State.

Act 23 of 1850 was passed as it was deemed expedient to ascertain and collect the land revenue accruing due to the East India Company within Calcutta.

It is clear therefore that the Government was in khas possession of the estate and assessed revenue upon it by making settlements, at the time Statute 21 and 22 Vict. C 100 came into operation, and when the Government was transferred to the Crown. Section 2 of that Act known as the

Government of India Act, 1858 provided that revenues of or arising in India receivable by, or in the name of the East India Company shall be received for and in the name of Her Majesty, and Section 3, that one of the Principal Secretaries of State shall have and perform all such or like powers or duties in anywise relating to the Government or revenues of India, then exercised by the East India Company, save as therein provided. Section 39 vests the real property of the Company in Her Majesty for the purpose of the Government of India, and Section 40 gives full powers to the Secretary of State in Council to sell and dispose of all real and personal estate whatsoever for the time being vested in Her Majesty under the Statute, and authorises such conveyances and assurances as may be necessary.

Section 1 of Statute 22 and 23 Vict. C 41 gives similar power to the Governor-General in Council.

It seems clear to me that the Secretary of State for India, and the Governor-General in Council have statutory authority to demise lands by way of lease, and make settlement of land in the khas possession of the Government.

* * * * *

The right claimed in this suit is that "the Calcutta Maidan is vested in the Government in trust for the free use and enjoyment of the public subject only to certain conditions requisite for military purposes" and that "the plaintiff is entitled at all times to free access to and uses of all parts of the said maidan, including the race course and enclosures, subject to the military conditions aforesaid."

The Calcutta maidan stretches from Government House and the Eden Gardens on the north, to Tolly's Nullah on the south, Chowringhee lying on the east and the river and the Fort on the west. The race course is on the south-west side of the maidan (*Imp. Gazetteer*, pp. 280-281). Of the three villages which constitute the present town of Calcutta Gobindpur was cleared of its inhabitants, and the foundations of the present Fort were laid. The clearing of the jungle led to the formation of the maidan (*Imp. Gazetteer of India*, Ed. 1908, Vol. IX, p. 264). This took place about 1773. The maidan is part of the khas mehal Estate. It is an open expanse of land in the nature of a park. There is nothing to show that a trust was ever created in favour of the public, or that the Government of India or Bengal were ever appointed Trustees by the Crown for its use by the public. If a right of such a character is claimed on behalf of the public, which cuts down the proprietary right of the Crown, it must be strictly proved. To determine the question of such a right the Secretary of State is a necessary party. I have already dealt with this point and do not want to repeat myself. The only piece of evidence on the record about a Trust, which has been relied upon by the

plaintiff, is a letter dated the 31st July 1893 from the Government of Bengal, Public Works Department (Military), to the Quarter Master General of India.

A question had at that time arisen between the Governor of Bengal and the Military authorities relating to certain rules for the control of Building Operations, etc., on the Calcutta Maidan as to the respective rights of the two departments in the matter.

The Lieutenant-Governor stated in his letter that a question had arisen in 1854 regarding the Conservancy and control of the maidan, and an order had been passed by Lord Dalhousie then Governor of Bengal, under which the maidan was held by the Lieutenant-Governor for the use and enjoyment of the public subject to certain conditions. He objected to the contemplated rules as likely to lead to confusion and inconvenience by dividing the control. The letter proceeds :—

“As already explained the maidan is now held by the Lieutenant-Governor for the free use and enjoyment of the public, subject only to certain military conditions which have been understood, and accepted both by the Civil and Military authorities for many years passed to be as follows :—

- (a) That the Military authorities are to have the free use of the entire maidan for parades and military exercises.
- (b) That the Military authorities are to have a certain part of the maidan set apart for military encampments.
- (c) That the Military authorities are to exercise the full right of veto in the case of permanent or *quasi*-permanent buildings on the maidan which are objectionable from a military point of view.”

and the Lieutenant-Governor adds that he deprecates any interference with broad principles so laid down.”

A Member has sent us the following :

“In reply to your enquiry regarding the Jail site, I replied some time ago that it was within the boundaries of Fort William regarded as a Cantonment, but that I was not sure whether it could be viewed as actually on the “Esplanade” of the fortress. I cannot find that any distinction has ever been made between the boundaries of the land attached to Fort William and the actual Esplanade, but on the other hand the Military Department do not seem to have ever exercised any rights over the land within the Jail enclosure. This is probably owing to the fact that the Jail or a jail existed before Fort William was built.”

The matter referred to in the last sentence is well worth investigating in view of the controversy on the Presidency Jail site which Mr. J. Mulvany had in the *Statesman* with the Ven. Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger about a year ago. The Presidency Jail site has made room for the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Khan Bahadur Dewan Fazl Rubbee writes :—

A FAMOUS SWORD AT THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL, CALCUTTA :—

This deals with the history of a rare and historical sword which once belonged to Emperor Aurungzeb and was presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the late Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, Amir ul-Omrah, G. C. I. E.

The sword originally belonged to Emperor Shah Jāhan. It is not definitely known how the House of Murshidabad came by it. The history associated with it is remarkably interesting. With it Aurungzeb conquered the whole of India. He and his courtiers held a superstitious idea about it. It was made in Delhi. The engraving on it is in Arabic character and reads as follows : "Lahul Billa Anatoh Illa Billah Alial Azcem Alumgir Marka In" (There is no power but in God who is great and high conqueror of the world, seeker of the war).

Seir-ul-Mutaqherin pages 301-02 mentions that Aurungzeb after gaining victory over Dara Shekoh in a pitched battle marched towards Akberabad (Agra) and encamped in the Bagh Nur Manzil in the vicinity of that city. Shah Jahan seeing Aurungzeb victorious treated him leniently and with kindness and sent an autographic letter through Qazil Khan Meer Saman (Lord Steward) and Sayed Hidayet Ullah Sadar (Chief Justice) in reply to Aurungzeb's letter. They waited upon Aurungzeb, handed over the letter and conveyed verbal messages from Shah Jahan to him. Aurungzeb received them cordially and conferred on them Khilut (Robes of Honor). Next day they were again sent by Emperor Shah Jahan to Aurungzeb with messages of kindness and the present of a sword named "Alumgir." The gift of this sword to Aurungzeb from his father Shah Jahan was considered very auspicious by him and his courtiers, and henceforward he styled himself as Alumgir (The conqueror of the world).

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—XI.

No. 467.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th January 1776.

TO

THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF SANDWICH.

MY LORD,

The unhappy divisions which commenced with the new Government still continue, and I have no reason to flatter myself or your Lordship with the prospect of their termination. A union which concentrates all power binds the individuals by ties of interest too strong to be easily shaken. This defect is in the constitution which precludes your first officer superior weight in the administration and levels his station to that of the meanest of his Council. Hence must arise compacts amongst the members to an exclusion of their fellows who shall not be wanted to form a majority, and while the desire to possess and exercise power has its influence upon men, and any three of the five members who compose the Council-General use the Government. It will scarcely ever consist of more. The equilibrium necessary to be preserved in a Government so remote as this is from the mother country require the parts composing it to be separate [and] distinct and natural checks on each other. Otherwise the balance cannot be maintained. An influence will arise to swerve it to partial purposes and sometimes individuals, sometimes the public will have reason to complain of the consequences. The subject is of importance, and your Lordship probably will be inclined to give it your consideration. In this idea, I have presumed to present it to you that such Regulations may be devised and recommended as your Lordship shall judge expedient and salutary.

I believe it was the general sense of people in England that the institution of a Supreme Court of Judicature would be ill received by all classes European sojourners and natives of this country. How far different. This novelty, which at first alarmed, was soon welcomed. The protection it held out to all ranks against the violence of party resentments and pursuits evinced the care of the Legislature in guarding the rights of mankind, a

blessing amply acknowledged by the universal voice and testified in various addresses to the honour of the nation that fixed this barrier to encroachments of despotic power and to the honor of the gentlemen who fill the tribunal of justice. The full employment that has been given to the Governor and myself by the spirit of cavil and debate has allowed us but little leisure to examine the internal state of the country and will apologise for the lapse of time we have permitted without offering any thought for dispensing criminal and civil justice throughout the provinces. An object of such magnitude demanded a careful revisal of the local customs and manners of the people, how far they might be modified under the present act of Parliament and how far assimilated, so that the country courts might, under a proper dependence, act without obstruction from the Supreme Court of Judicature and the religious prejudices of the natives not be alarmed. A plan to this end I submit to your Lordship's inspection. Another copy is sent to my Lords Mansfield and North by the Governor-General. I cannot flatter myself it is perfect, but such as it is, I hope with the improvements it will consequently receive that a more regular and uniform system of criminal and civil jurisdiction may be established in this country.

I am, my Lord, &c.,

No. 468.

CALCUTTA,

THOMAS RUMBOLD, ESQ.

The 20th January 1776.

Dear Rumbold,

A message from you by Col. Morgan hurt me not a little. I send you this through my sister and you will learn from her it was not my friends who failed you upon your competition with my Lord Pigot.

Enclosed you will receive an address from William Barton to the Directors. He has unfortunately rendered himself obnoxious to Party, and I fear his connection with me has not a little conduced to his persecution. As you can be of great assistance to him by your influence and may prevent any injurious resolution to affect his fortune or his character, allow me most earnestly to entreat you to take him by the hand. The Company's Service is all his dependence, and if he loses it, he is irretrievably ruined.

I have known him from a child and never perceived in him the influence of a wrong bias. He is unhappily negligent and apt to place a blind reliance on Black servants under him in office. In this he is blameable, but the demerits of such servants because he might have been more circumspect in checking them fall too heavy upon his head when they are charged to him.

Candor will not be so severe, she may censure, but faults committed by others she will not acquit them of and translate to him, they are in a very distant relation, his by implication as possessing the power of prevention, but he had no apprehensions of abuse, and when it became known that those whose executive duty it was to be careful of the instrument had been negligent the remedy was beyond his power.

The emoluments of office sanctified by long prescription is another offence charged to Barton. This with some other circumstances are accumulated to present him in an odious light to the Company and are by him explained. You must be sensible that without some such advantages as he derived from his station it would not have been possible for him to have borne the expense he was necessarily subjected to, and as he never was an expensive man his present poverty will evince that instead of wronging the Company he has barely existed on their Service. However to render the Direction propitious to him he has given a bond to abide its decision, but of this I hope no advantage will be taken (a suitor for the Company's favour and do no less) for to claim partiality on the bond without fixing the Company's right to his emoluments will infact be nothing less than the Company's mulcting of their servants because he is at their mercy, and instead of its being a decision on the merits of his case, will be simply putting a price on the Service. To be indigent and to have served the Company upwards of 14 years is surely a strong claim to their consideration. Excuse my pressing this so much upon you and be assured, I am etc.

No. 469.

CALCUTTA,

To

20th January 1776.

MRS. MARY BARWELL,

My dear Sister,

I enclose you a letter for my Lord Sandwich of which you will get a copy taken and send the original to his Lordship. You will excuse my friend, Mr. Frederick Stewart, for my not writing to him. I really have not time, and as you submit to him every material information that I send it is needless. Mr. Vansittart has taken his passage for Europe on the *Hilsborough*. You will unite with him as far as your judgment approves, and as I do not imagine he will ever be in competition with me should he seek to return to this country I wish you to assist him. His abilities (for he has abilities though a very strange fellow on his deportment) will be of great use to me here, and a union with his friends probably not less so in England. I am sure it is his

interest at present, and of course it must be his wish to be solicitous for my promotion.

I mentioned to you in some of my former letters how Mr. William Barton had been persecuted, his connection with me and the vexation I feel in consequence, has, I fear, not a little contributed to his prejudice. The cause of a man with whom I have so long lived on a footing of intimacy is mine. You must, therefore, my dear Friend, exert yourself on his behalf and avert, if possible, any injurious resolution of the Court of Directors against him. The Company's Service is all his dependence, and if he loses it, he is ruined. Whatever is or may be said to impeach his honesty in the execution of the trust he has held under the Company, his poverty is an irrefragable proof of his integrity. Appearances bear hard against him, but I am convinced and you may believe me, he has been a deluded not a dishonest man, and if the faults of people in office under him are accumulated on his head, of these candour should acquit him, though he cannot be held entirely blameless for his blind confidence in a parcel of Black villains whose demerits now fall heavy upon him. I enclose you his letter to the Directors and beg you will leave no expedient untried to preserve him. James Barton's friends will naturally assist you, but I know not whether he has had the foresight to advise his brother and obtain letters from him, whether he has or not, do you perform the office of a friend to my friend. Where my affections are strongly engaged, I cannot be indifferent. I give you a great deal of trouble, but the goodness of your heart operating with an attachment that renders you partial to me will readily plead my excuse and engage you to enter on my pursuits with alacrity and prosecute them with address and perseverance. Mr. Vansittart promised me faithfully to do whatever laid in his power to assist Barton and extricate him from his difficulties. Rumbold who is a Director was once Resident at Luckypore: he received the same emoluments as Barton and may consequently be inclined to favour him. If he does not, the Direction will, I hope, make no exceptions but call upon him as well as every other of Barton's predecessors. Impartiality demands that all or no one should be condemned for the official perquisites Barton is charged with and for which he has given a bond. Should it be resolved by the Directors to attempt to recover the perquisites taken by the different Residents his predecessors shall be established by the decision of the Law, and that the Company do not propose to claim partially from Mr. Barton on a bond given merely to evince his sense of duty and deference to his superiors, but on the ground of the Company's right to such perquisites if the Company have not this right, it would be unjust to claim on Mr. Barton's bond and acquit his predecessors. His submission to the Company entitles him to be treated with tenderness and not with a degree of severity which his predecessors do not

experience who have not the merit of his submission to plead in mitigation of their error.

I enclose you a letter I received from Mr. James Miller. Will you be so kind as to order the payments from the interest arising on the 500£ in your hands to be made in the manner requested by that letter?

I have not yet been able to settle with the executors of Mr. Middleton owing to the dishonest evasions of Mr. Chevalier touching the necessary securities, but I hope to finish an adjustment of the protested bills in time to advise you for the shipping of the season, that is, by some foreign conveyance if the *Talbot* from Bombay arrives not so soon as to admit of her being (in April) for Europe.

P. S.—I must request the favour of you to adjust the claim of Mrs. Hawkesworth for the books I send from the good Doctor entirely to her satisfaction. Mr. Cator has forwarded her the account. It is a rule with me never to cavil with friends for money when they form expectations with the least shadow of reason. You will, therefore, my dear Sister, settle with Mrs. Hawkesworth just in what manner she pleases.

No. 470.

CALCUTTA,

20th January 1776.

To

ROBERT GREGORY, ESQ., RICHARD BECHER, ESQ., JOHN PURLING, ESQ.,
HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.

Dear Sirs,

If on any occasion I may be troublesome and with earnestness solicit the exertion of your good offices, benevolence of mind is some excuse for the transgression. I am in a thousand fears and apprehensions for one of my oldest and most intimate acquaintances. He has unfortunately rendered himself obnoxious to Party, and his connection with me, I fear, has not a little conduced to his ill fortune. You may be of great assistance to him by your influence. You may prevent any injurious resolutions to affect his fortunes and his character, and are able to protect and bear him through his difficulties. The Company's Service is all his dependence, and if he loses it he is absolutely and irretrievably ruined. Appearances bear hard against him. Yet I am convinced he is rather an unhappy and deluded man than a dishonest one. I have, however, known him long from a child and never perceived in him the influence of a wrong bias, but unfortunately he is naturally negligent and prone to place a blind confidence on whatever Black servants are acting in office. In this he is certainly blameable, but the

demerits of such servants because he ought to have been more careful in checking them fall too heavy on his head when they are made his. Candor will not be so severe; she may censure his unlimited reliance, but faults committed by others she will charge to those others and acquit him of the ill which is only his by implication because he did not prevent it; he had no suspicion: he apprehended it not and it was too late when he found the trust he reposed in those whose executive duty it was to be careful of the investment had been misplaced.

The emoluments of office at Luckypore which long prescription has sanctified is charged as an offence in Barton. This circumstance with others accumulated to make him obnoxious is explained in his address to the Directors which I take the liberty to enclose for your perusal. You must be sensible that without some such advantages as he derived in common with his predecessors in the Luckypore Station it was not possible for him to defray the unavoidable expense he necessarily incurred, but as his whole dependence is on the Service, in the hope of rendering the Directors favourable to him he has given a bond to abide their decision.

I wish the Directors may be pleased to allow of the long established emoluments. But should they be uninclined to pass them over and direct the recovery of them from the different Residents they will not, I hope, claim partially from Mr. Barton on a bond merely given to evince his sense of duty and submission to them, but direct the Company's right to be established against all who in the same station had the same advantages. Barton's submission pleads in mitigation of his practice authorised by example and long usage and recommends him to the consideration of his superiors. He will not then, I latter myself, be treated with a degree of severity. Those who preceded him may be exempted from and solely because his situation has made him a suitor to the Company. If the Company have a right that right may be fixed and claimed upon and all who have held the Luckypore Station be placed upon a impartial and equal footing. But to claim on Barton's bond without fixing the Company's right is infact nothing less than the Company mulcting one of their servants because he is at their mercy and absolving others from whose example his offence if any has proceeded. This will not be deciding on the merits of his case in common with his predecessors. It will be simply putting a price on his continuance in the Service and obliging a man to purchase it who has already served the Company 14 years and whose real poverty has some claim to consideration. Mr. William Barton has never been an expensive man and his present indigence and consequent dependence on the Company is an incontestible proof that he could not have wronged them to his own benefit and that all he has been enabled by his employment

was merely to live by the Service. I will not encroach more on your time by further apologies. The anxiety I feel for a man I esteem will excuse me to you for my so pressingly urging you to give him your support.

No. 471.

To

THOMAS RUMBOLD, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th January 1776.

Dear Rumbold,

You will receive from Mr. Killican the particulars of your concerns in this country. The Company's Treasury being shut to all loans, I have thought it consistent with your interest at the same time, I secure your property to give you some income from it, and as the only expedient by which these two purposes could be answered was upon mortgages ample and equivalent to the moneys advanced upon them, I flatter myself a part if not the greater part of your property will be made to yield you an interest, though it is but at the moderate rate of 5 per cent. Security being your first object and the income a secondary one, I must not to advance the latter lose sight of the first. In this I flatter myself with answering your wishes in each respect, for to have allowed your money to lay dead in the Treasury or in the hands of your acting attorney would have been not very considerate, while as good security and some interest could be got for it in the Settlement.

The scheme which was calculated to ensure the bond holders payment of their loans in England being frustrated by the discharge of the bonds, if you are unable to effect remittances this year I would recommend to you to appoint some agent at Bombay and lodge your cash in the Treasury of that Presidency. This will give you the Company's security and an interest of 8 per cent or 9. I know not which, but in determining this you must take into your view that Presidency's inability to discharge their notes as they become due and the possibility of discount in the disposal of them when you draw out your money.

I will not launch into political detail but leave you to the information of the Public Records and the different appeals made by the contending parties. It is astonishing what arts of misrepresentation have been made use of and with what address, not only to render Hastings odious but to reflect on the whole body of the Company's servants in the management of the Revenue from their first acquisition. It would be well for the Company if the majority pursued the interests confided to them with the same spirit of perseverance and industry as they are pleased to exert in calling and trying to prove all the servants of the Company rogues and rascals.

No. 472.

CALCUTTA,

TO WILLIAM LUSHINGTON, ESQ.

20th January 1776.

Dear Lushington,

I have received your letter of the 13th. The conduct of your friend will be known from the Public advices. You cannot well imagine the scene that has engrossed me. Never flew my time faster ; I regret every minute, not on account of any enjoyment that passes with it, but because the day is not long enough to labour in, I thought I had seen much before, but faith the magnitude of the present objects, render all the villainy and oppression of past times venial *siris*. (*sic*). Dissimulation, falsehood, cunning with all the smiling train of unprincipled rascality stamp the pursuits of the present Government. Poor Bussent roy has been persecuted almost to ruin, because Commauloodeen Ally Cawn exposed the practices of Mr. Fowke an agent of the Majority for taking up the complaints, whether true or false, against the Governor. I have done all I can to obtain him justice, but such is the temper of disappointed men that he poor devil is pursued and the claim he has to the consideration of the Board though founded in equity, and the rights he holds under the Company's "potta" are not admitted. Commaul who is the offensive farmer of Hijlie is obliged to have recourse to another tribunal, the Supreme Judicature, for protection and has petitioned the court to grant an injunction and oblige the Committee of Revenue to verify the demands made on account of the farm, by stating against each article the rule, the precedent or article of the public lease on which the demand is made. I wish I had time to send you the papers, but it is not in my power. Let it suffice that the Company's just claim is about 30,000 rupees which Bussent roy is willing to pay, and that the Committee have by management swelled it by an imaginary valuation put upon the deficient salt to one hundred and twenty thousand. I exposed this in a public minute, they then reduced it to Rs. 90,000. I exposed this too and was joined by the Governor but without effect. I asked if the farmer held not under a "potta" similar to that of 1178. I asked for the rule of adjustment in that year. I asked for any precedents whatever in the course of twenty years to be produced from the Hughli accounts to authorise the demand proposed by the Committee. I asked in vain, it was arbitrarily continued as it was first made and a vexatious persecution of Commul and Bussentroy is the result and will continue to be so until relief is obtained in equity where Commaul has applied.

I make no doubt it will astonish men extremely to hear with what open arms the Settlement in general and all classes of the Natives received the Judges. The violence of Party to which the Judicature at present is the sole barrier—in the protection it held out to all ranks of individuals—soon

conciliated all and has evinced the care of the Legislature in securing the common rights of mankind by an institution superior to the frowns of Power. How will gentlemen in England stand to be told that servants of the Company who are all deemed obnoxious to the Laws fly to the Laws to be protected against the violence of Party despotism and that a court instituted with no particular view to their protection, is the safe and only refuge they have from the injustice and resentments of men who were advanced to Power to administer just wisely and moderately a Government said to have been swayed hitherto by intemperate arbitrary maxims, but enough. The subject is unpleasant and too copious for the little time I have to give you.

A persecution has been set on foot against you in the Hijlie districts at the instance of General Clavering etc., etc. The moffussil papers have been new modelled and twisted to your prejudice, and Messrs. John Sumner, Pye and Adair all three great ignorant puppies made the blinking instruments of bringing to the public eye inextricable accounts multiplying charges against you, although these papers are fallacious. Yet they are so managed as to asperse you in some degree spite of every thing I can do with the assistance of Bussentroy who will write you and explain matters. I have not heard from Harwood nor have I seen Bussentroy for these two or three last months. The balance of salt due from the Company General Clavering, Col. Monson, etc. have directed not to be delivered on the pretext that the utmost the merchants are entitled to is a return of their money with interest. This is unjust for the risk of the market was the merchants when they made the contract, and of course the profit and loss should be theirs. But it is in vain to reason with men who proceed on a uniform plan of opposition, and twist and turn every measure of the late Government, good indifferent or bad, to its prejudice. You must write me explicitly on this point if the Company approve the non-delivery of what may be the remaining balance of salt and order the merchants the return of their advances with interest in ready money. But in justice they will, I think, order the salt to be delivered and censure the Majority for having withheld it and subjected them to a heavy charge of interest. Clavering etc., have urged that there is some compact between the claimants and some servants of the company who purchased up these balances. Nothing can be more absurd. If an article was *bonâfide* to be delivered by the Company on a contract how the Devil can the purchase of it be stated a compact. The creditors had the right of sale the Company is bound to fulfill their engagements and whoever pleased might purchase them up. You are as much interested in this matter as any man and will, I hope, exert yourself to obtain the justice that is due to you in common with many others.

Pray excuse me to R. Leycester, I have it not in my power to write.

No. 473.

CALCUITA,

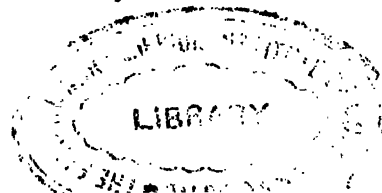
TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

27th March 1776.

I have now before me your letter of the 11, 14, and 15 April with one of June 1775 by the way of Aleppo. With respect to Mr. Miller I enclose you a duplicate of his first letter 17 of last January and an original one of the 10th instant. When this arrives with you, should you not have obtained from him an appointment to the Service, you will think no more of it. On the presumption of your not being able to get him nominated he consulted me on his future prospects and begged the favour of me to write to you on his money concerns. I promised him your care of them and desired he would just intimate to me by a line to whom he would have the growing interest paid and any part of the capital. I must in consequence beg your attention to his letters. As to any subsequent adjustment to be made with Mr. Miller you have only occasion to note it and leave it to me. I will take care of that, but as any disappointment may subject those to difficulties to whom he has directed payments you will be punctual, even though you should not have in your possession the monies supposed to have been received by you.

I mentioned to you in my letter of 23 November that I had bound myself to James to answer the minor's fortunes and I now send you a copy of the instrument as a rule for the adjustments subsequently necessary upon such instrument. Before James went hence I earnestly entreated him to give you all his weight in your pursuit of my interests, he promised me faithfully that as he neither had nor could have any view so dear to him as my success he should be happy to contribute to it by the utmost exertion of his powers and abilities, that it was very true he did not always see objects in the light they struck you, and for this, my dearest Friend, you must make some allowances without expressing any degree of ill humour when he appears opposite your wishes. Displeasure on difference of opinion generally fails of gaining the person we would persuade to adopt our sentiments at the same time that it gives an impression either of impatience or of self sufficiency. Of all that of influencing the human mind is least known, and when known to give it success requires our perfect acquaintance with characters, their passions, prejudices and affections. I will write to James about making Mr. Roberts his banker, though from what I know of James I apprehend he will not be easily led to place his money in the hands of any one on whom he may not have the most implicit reliance. James has a fondness for money, and this fondness operating with the instance of Sir G. Colebrooke's failure, I fear, will determine him to confide to his Quakers his present bankers.

On money matters Mr. Cator at my request has already addressed you



and leaves me nothing to say except on McLeane's bonds. These bonds by my former letters you will find have been in a manner adjusted, that is, he has given me a note for CRs. 40,471-6-0 and was to settle with you such points as I could not close from my ignorance of them. I had no other object in this transaction than to disburthen you of McLeane's debt and to serve him. My motive is well-known to him, and as a man of honour if he is able, I daresay, he will answer any application you may make to him for the discharge of his debt, but I suspect him not to be in a capacity to do this, though I wish he may and shall esteem myself obliged to him if he does—obliged because he is not bound to make you the payment by the letter of the law and can only be impelled to it by a principle of honour, that may lead him to consult your convenience and mine, a principle strong enough if he has the means, and if he has not the means, the bond of a man whose success I wish and who, I flatter myself, will heartily engage in my pursuits, is no more to me than waste paper. You, it was proper, should not suffer, and therefore I took the debt upon myself.

On calculating the exchange of the China remittance I find it so low as not to be an object the Rupee not turning out two shillings and one penny. This has determined me to stint my negotiations for conveying money there to one lack of rupees. Yet low as the exchange is had I wanted to have sent more I should have been diffculted to have done it, so great is the anxiety of people to get money to England at any rate.

I find Mr. Mercer did not make any remittance through the China cash in the course of the last season, and consequently my hopes of your being able to discount his bond are vain. As Mr. Mercer is a man of property and is generally esteemed for integrity and fair dealing, I do imagine his debt will be punctually discharged, if it should not, you must take such measures as your lawyer may judge most effectual, and either request him, or do you yourself give me the particulars of the steps that may be taken, in order to my demanding security in this country if Mr. Mercer should be here. Mr. Mercer went again to China this season, and as he may from thence proceed with his effects to England you will make all the necessary enquiries after him when the China ships of the next season arrive, that is, the ships that will be dispatched from September 1776 to January 1777.

The certain remittances by this season's shipping are the Dutch bills for sicca rupees 25,700 or current rupees 2,98,120 and the bills on the English Company advised by Mr. Cator for £2400. The Dutch bills if I have not been imposed upon, you will have received cash for by the time this letter reaches you, and I hope they will turn out to you £30,000 or very little short of it.

As I am on the subject of remittances I must inform you that my new associates, Clavering, Monson and Francis have each contrived to keep splendid tables and equipages, and after disbursing the expense incidental to such trifling matters have remitted home the following bills each :—

1	Bill in February 1775	...	...	£3,300
1	" " March	"	...	£1,320
1	" " November	"	...	£7,000
1	" " March 1776	...	...	£2,400

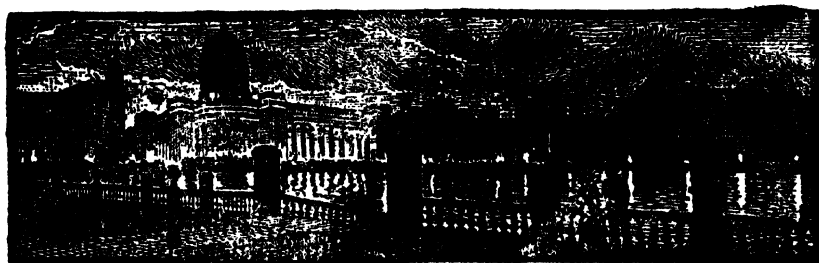
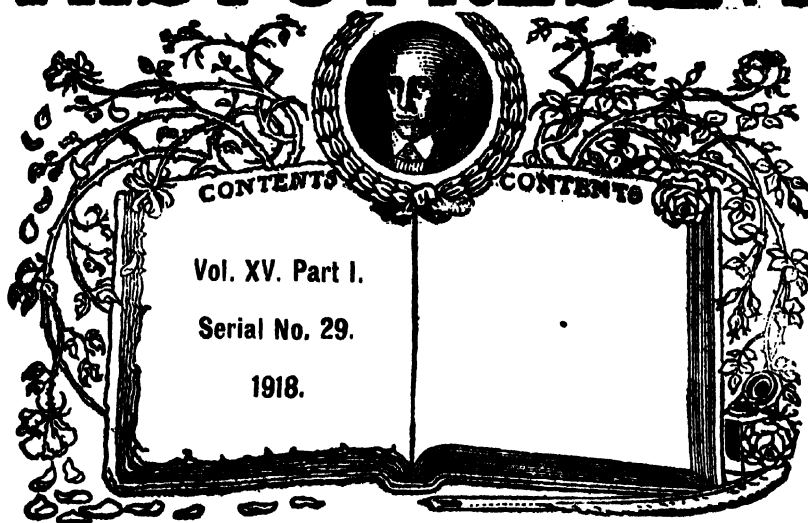
Amount ... £14,020

These gentlemen came in October 1774. To March 1776 they had to receive 16 months' salary at £10,000 per annum is £13,333-6-8, and out of this they have managed each of them to send home £14,020. Yet they do not touch a present of any kind !

(To be continued.)



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Some Old Graves at Dacca.

ON the 12th July, 1824, Bishop Heber records in his *Narrative* :

“In the evening [Sunday, July 9th] I consecrated the burial-ground ; a wild dismal place, surrounded by a high wall, with an old Moorish gateway, at the distance of about a mile from the now inhabited part of the city, but surrounded with a wilderness of ruins and jungle. It is, however large and well adapted for its purposes, containing but few tombs and those mostly of old dates, erected during the days of Dacca's commercial prosperity, and while the number of European residents was more considerable than it is present. One was pointed out to me, over the remains of a Mr. Paget, Chaplain to the Company in July 1724. He then little thought or feared how strangely the centenary anniversary of his interment would be kept up ! Some of the tombs are very handsome : One more particularly, resembling the buildings raised over the graves of Mussulman Saints, has a high octagon Gothic tower, with a cupola in the same style, and eight windows with elaborate tracery. Within are three slabs over as many bodies, and the old Durwan of the burial-ground said, it was the tomb of a certain ‘Columbo Sahib Company’ ka Nuokur,’ Mr. Columbo, Servant to the Company ; who he can have been I know not : his name does not sound like an Englishman’s, but as there is no inscription, the Beadle’s word is the only accessible authority.”

In September last I re-visited Dacca, and spent some two hours in the burial ground. The “Moorish” gateway still exists, although, by an extension of the cemetery it is now almost in the centre of the ground. “Columbo Sahib’s” tomb is in an excellent state of preservation. I was called away from my labour while engaged in copying a tablet built in the wall to a Mr. Ezekiel Beck, erected by Susanah, his wife. The inscription records that “he was born of respectable parents in the island of Barbadoes,” and “departed this life on the 30th March 1791.” He “fell a sacrifice to power through the conduct of an Assiatick oppressor in the 37th year of his age.” From the Sylhet Records I learn that the Collector of that place, Mr. J. Willes, broke up Beck’s business and compelled him to quit the district. Beck’s offence seems to have been that he had taken some well-known bad characters into his employ. I trust that the following transcriptions are correctly made.

1. Here / lies buried / the body of / Nichols. / Clerembault, Esqr., /^r Chief of Ye. English / Factory at Dacca / d. the 16th of / November 1755. Aged / about 46 years.
2. Here lies the body / of Thomas Feake, Esq., / late Chief of Dacca. / Ob. 7 Oct. 1750 / Æt. 32.
3. Nathaniel Hall / Factor in the Service of Ye. / Honble. E. E. I. Compa. Obt. 13 Sept. 1725 / Æt. 24.
4. Charles Watkins, / Writer in the service of / the Hon'ble Engsh. East India Compa. / Obt. 25th June 1726. Æt. 21.
5. Mrs. Eli.....ll / Obit Ye..... 1742.
6. Cy.-Git / Mrs. Day Carlier / Born on the 16th October / 1756. / Died on the 21st June 1836. / Aged 80 years.
7. Here lies / the body of / Mr. James Mills, / late assistant Surgeon / at this Factory, / who died / the 16th of October 1773 / in the 40th year / of / his age.
8. Here lies the body of / William Kirkman, / Chief for the Hon'ble the Dutch East India Compy. / Dacca / Born—September 17—/ Deceased April 1771.
9. Sacred / to the memory of / Mr. James Hunter, / late a Surgeon on / this Establishment, / who died / equally regretted for his skill / and his many / amiable qualities / on the 16th March 1785. / This Monument is / erected as a tribute of paternal affection / by Capt. Patk. Hunter.
10. Robert Lindsay, Esq. / Factor in the service of the Honorable East India Company, / died on the 18th of December. / MDCCLXXVIII. Aged XXIII years.
11. Sophia Cator / died the 11th October, / 1784. / Aged 11 months, 18 days.
12. Frances Anne Middleton, / died the 30th October / 1784 / Aged 13 months, 11 days.

1. Clerembault was of a Huguenot family settled in London. He did not enter the East India Company's service until 1744, when, on 25th January he was appointed to proceed to Bengal as a Factor at £15 per annum, his securities being Benjamin Longuet, Esq., and Henry Guinaud, merchants. Arriving on 25th November, 1744, he was posted to Dacca. On 1st September, 1749, he took over charge from Thomas Feake, and became chief of the Factory. Soon after his salary was raised from £ 15 to £ 30 per annum, and in 1752, or 1753, it was raised to £ 40. As a matter of fact, with batta and allowances he received nearly Rs. 4,000 per annum. His death is recorded on the Dacca Consultations for 15 November, 1753, "on the 15th instant, Nicholas Clerembault, Esq., Chief of this Factory, departed this life of a violent fever." [Information kindly supplied by Wm. Foster. Esq., C. I. E.]

13. To / the memory of / Jane, the daughter of / James* and Jane Rennell,† who died July 29, 1774. / Aged 1 year and 7 days.
14. Here / lies buried / the body of / Elizabeth / Charlton / who died / the 31st January / 1766. Aged / 23 years.
15. In memory / of / Elizabeth Crauford, / wife to Robt. Crauford / who departed this / life June 22 1776. / Aged 23 years.
16. To / the memory / of / Robert Crauford, / Factor in the service / of the Hon. East / India Company, / who departed / this life, August 27th / 1776. / Aged 34 years.
17. Sacred / to the memory / of / Robert Auchmuty, Esq., / who departed this life / on the 8th April / 1797. / Aged 22 years.
18. Here lies / the body of / Charles Taylor, Esq., / who departed this life / on the / 29th of January 1797 / in the 32d year of his age. / Dacca.
19. Sacred / to the memory of / Ensign George Middleton / in the service of / the Hon'ble East India Company, / who died 17th Oct. / 1789. / Aged 23.
20. Here lyeth / the body / of Thos. / Borthwick,‡ / Captain in the / of the Hon'ble / East India Company. / Aged about 29 years. / Obiit / the 7th August, 1769.
21. To the memory / of / Henry Holland / who died on the 16th April / 1800. / Aged 22 years.
22. To the memory of / Lieut. H. Mainwaring. / Late of the 3rd Regt., Nat. Inf., / who departed this life / July 22, 1807. / Aged 25.
23. Sacred / to the memory of / Christopher Roberts, Esqr., / 3rd Judge / of the Court of / Appeal and Circuit / at Dacca, / who departed this life / May 4, 1801. / In the 37th year / of his age.
24. To the memory of / John David Patterson, Enquire, / Judge and Magistrate / of the City of Dacca, / who died on the 26th May 1809. / Aged 65 years.
25. Sacred to the memory of / Col. Wm. Burton / of the Dacca Provincial Battalion, / who died on the 26th of November / 1817. / Aged 53 years.
26. To the memory of / Mrs. C. Burton, / wife of Major W. Burton, / who departed this life / on the 11th July / 1809.
27. To the memory / of / William Gordon, Esq., / A. M., who died the 11th September 1817. / Aged 36 years.

* The distinguished geographer.

† Sister of W. M. Thackeray of Sylhet.

‡ Set up on the Cemetery wall.

If Scotia's music have a charm
 Your soul to cheer, your heart to warm,
 Pause—and do homage to the shade
 Of one who in the fiddling trade
 Had few compeers, and what is better
 He was the essence of good nature.

28. Sacred / to the memory of / the late Lt.-Coll. W. H. Cooper, C. B., / who departed this life / on the 8th of May 1822, / after a residence of 44 years / in different parts of India. / Aged 66 years and 8 days.
29. Sacred / to the memory of / Mrs. Antonia Falconer, / wife of A. Falconer, Esqr., of Belnaberry. / A Lady who possessed the highest endowments of mind / and the sweetest charm of manners, and every elegant accomplishment / of Art and Taste and Genius, but / who was above all inestimable for the benevolence of her heart, / and the exuberant tenderness and purity of her affections. / She was born on the 17th Octr., 1789, in Kinnel Palace, near Linlithgow in Scotland, / then the residence of her father and paternal grand father, / the celebrated Dr. Roebuck, / founder of the Carron Iron Works. / She came to India with her brother / Captain Thomas Roebuck / Professor at the College of Fort William, / and was married in Calcutta on the 3rd of June, 1820, / and died in childbed on the 18th March 1821 at Dacca. / Her infant child interred with her. / No human being ever died more beloved or more lamented.
30. Sacred / to the memory of / Capt. / Chas. Scott / 27th Regt., N. I., / Principal Assistt., to the Commissioner / of Assam, / died at this station / on the 3rd May 1847. / Aged 33 years. / This tablet has been erected / by his friends in Assam.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

29. For John Roebuck, the investor, see article in *Dictionary of National Biography* which has also an article on Thomas Roebuck, the brother of Mrs. Falconer. Capt. Thos. Roebuck died in December 1819, and is buried in the South Park St. Cemetery at Calcutta. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 142. In the same cemetery at Calcutta is buried Alexander Freer Falconer, / son of the late Alexander Falconer, Esq. of Bel/nabarry, who died at Calcutta on the 29th / October 1827, / aged 14 months. *Bengal Obituary*, p. 128.

A History of the Second Presidency Battalion, Calcutta Rifles.

BY LT.-COL. F. M. LESLIE, V.D.

THE Corps now known as the Second (Presidency) Battalion, Calcutta Rifles, and as such a unit of the Indian Defence Force began life as a Reserve Battalion and was formed under the order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India dated the 6th April 1888. The first Commandant of the Corps was Major Reginald Cranfuird Sterndale of the Retired List, Calcutta Volunteer Rifles, and at that time Cantonment Magistrate of Dum Dum. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel on the 14th September 1888.

The proposal to raise a Battalion of Reserve Volunteers originated with Colonel Sterndale who felt that the material was available for such a Corps in the large number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians who did not belong to any of the then existing active Corps whether they had at one time belonged to any of those Corps or not. In the year 1885 a cloud much larger than a man's hand was rising upon Afgan Frontier and the "Russian Scare" was at its height. Colonel Sterndale took the opportunity to call a meeting of some of the leading men in Calcutta to consider the question of raising a new Volunteer Corps. A provisional Committee was formed and Colonel Sterndale addressed a letter to the Government of India submitting his proposals and tendering his services and those of 240 men willing to be enrolled in the proposed Corps for the defence of the country. In the course of a month the number of men willing to be enrolled in the proposed Corps had increased to 600. In the course of three years, that is to say in March 1888, the answer came and the Government of India gave final consent to the formation of the Corps under the title of the Presidency Volunteer Reserve Battalion.

The Corps was accordingly constituted a Battalion and declared 'subject to the administrative control of the Officer Commanding the Administrative Battalion Presidency Volunteers.' The corps when formed was open to "all able bodied Europeans and Anglo-Indians (then styled Eurasians) of good character and respectability domiciled in India and residing within the Municipal limits of Calcutta and its suburbs, Howrah, Dum Dum and the

riverside districts extending on both sides of River Hooghly from the Jubilee Bridge to Budge Budge and Fort Gloster unconditionally if of the age of 35 years and upwards and if below that age then with the permission of the Officer Commanding the active Corps."

The Battalion as originally formed was divided into 6 companies :

- A : The City Company ;
- B : The European Police Reserve Company ;
- C : The Mint Company ;
- D : The Preventive Service Company ;
- E : The Hastings Company ;
- F : The Howrah Company.

It is interesting to note that the system of Departmental Companies which for so many years gave strength and efficiency to the Battalion was inaugurated with the formation of the Battalion.

As evidence of the keenness of the first Commanding Officer we find that he gave up a great part of his private residence Dum Dum House (where Clive at one time lived) to supply his Corps with Head Quarters and an Armoury.

The first Annual Report of the Corps brings to light the fact that its first Adjutant was Captain Joseph Binning who later on as Colonel Joseph Binning, C.I.E., V.D., A.D.C., commanded the Corps for many years and whose name and memory are still held in affectionate regard by the officers and men of the Battalion a great many of whom served under him.

The actual strength of the Corps at the end of the first year of its existence was 465 of which number 447 were classed as efficient of the season.

Every one who knows anything about the Volunteer movement (for the present at least a matter of history) is aware that one of the greatest troubles of the many that beset a Commanding Officer was the want of the Rifle Range accommodation for his men. It is not therefore surprising to find Colonel Sterndale in his second Annual Report of the Corps bemoaning the fact that he could not inaugurate a shooting club because he could not obtain a range.

In this third Annual Report Colonel Sterndale gives prominence to the fact that the Corps had held its first camp of exercise and one is therefore not surprised to find him also record the fact that his energetic reservists had had paraded for inspection with the active units in Calcutta for inspection by the Commander-in-Chief and that following thereon the Corps had thrown off its reserve and come into line as an active Battalion retaining in its Reserve Companies room for all such as could not devote sufficient time to Volunteering to make themselves ordinarily efficient. The designation of the Corps

was changed at the same time and it became the Presidency Volunteer Rifle Battalion, and the Corps was separated from the Administrative Battalion and given an independent existence. Thus began the rivalry that any one time existed between itself and other Rifle Corps in the Presidency Command to the disadvantage of all concerned.

The same Report mentions the fact that under the changed conditions it was not found convenient to continue to have the Head Quarters of the Corps in Dum Dum and they were accordingly removed to a house rented for the purpose in town. The Report is written some time after the close of the Official year and in fact the change in the nature and constitution of the Corps recorded in it took place after the close of the year so that the Corps remained a Reserve Battalion for three Official years. The order converting the Corps from "Reserves" to "Rifles" is dated 4th July 1891.

In the fourth year of its existence (its first as an active unit) the Corps was for the first time (but not for the last) unable to hold a camp of exercise because the Military authorities granted no subsidy for this purpose. Obviously the men did not lack energy for they formed, amongst other things, a drum and five band of their own and purchased the necessary instruments from the Naval Volunteers (now known as the Calcutta Port Defence Corps) who had given up their intention of maintaining a Band.

The following year appears to have been one of greater prosperity for the Corps or perhaps the Powers were more kind for we find that not only did the Battalion once more have its camp of exercise but it was given a regular adjutant in the person of Captain A. St. John Seton of the King's Liverpool Regiment. This is recorded in the Report of the Battalion for the year 1892-93 the last to be signed by Colonel Sterndale one of the best men that ever wore a Volunteer's Uniform the first commandant and the founder of the Corps. His name will remain with the Battalion long after the last man who knew him in it has passed out of it.

The next report is for the seasons 1893-94, 1894-95 and 1895-96 and it opens with the words "Owing to the illness and subsequent death of the late Colonel R. C. Sterndale there was no Annual Report of the Battalion published for the Season 1893-94 as all the private information, etc., required for the Report which was in Colonel Sterndale's possession at the time of his death has not been recovered". And such is the tribute paid to his memory! For there is no further mention of him in this Report. It at least bears witness to the personality and character of the man who raised the Corps and in whose absence even the stereotyped Annual Report could not be written.

The amende is made in the next Report where we read "The greatest loss the Battalion sustained during the season 1894-95 and one which it can

never replace was by the untimely death of its Commanding Officer, Colonel Reginald Cranfuird Sterndale, V. D., which sad event took place after a long illness in Calcutta on the 12th February 1895 brought on by a chill he caught during some field manœuvres he had organised for the instruction of the Battalion. A full account of the services of this able Volunteer Officer and also an account of his funeral will be found further on in this Report." *Sci transit gloria mundi.*

During the illness of Colonel Sterndale Major J. Binning (as he then was) Commanded the Corps. The Report for this year contains but little of interest except perhaps in an extract from Battalion orders by Colonel Sterndale dated 24th November 1894 from which it appears that this strict disciplinarian disregarding a recommendation to mercy confirmed the sentence of a Court Martial fining a private Rs. 20 for (1) neglect to the prejudice of good order and discipline and (2) refusing to obey an order given by his superior officer.

The strength of the Battalion on the 31st March 1895 was 445 Active members and 81 Reservists making a total of 526.

Throughout the following year 1895-96 Major Binning appears to have officiated as Commandant. Nothing of interest is recorded. No camp of exercise was held and we find the numbers on the rolls had fallen to 409 active members and 50 Reservists making a total of 459.

The Report for the season 1896-97 mentions the formation of a new Company (G) under the command of 2nd Lieutenant Coats-Niven and this probably accounts for a rise in the number of members which at the end of the season stood at 526 of whom 467 were active members and 59 Reservists. A camp of exercise was held that year not as former camps had been at Belghurriah but at the Zeerut Bridge leading from Calcutta to Alipore.

From the extracts from Battalion orders we learn with pathetic interest that the Corps lost during the year by death a gallant young officer in Lt. Montague Henry Cranfuird Sterndale, the only son of Colonel Sterndale, of whom previous mention has been made in this account as the founder and first commandant of the Corps. Lt. Sterndale had acted as Adjutant of the Corps during the previous year when Capt. St. John Seton was on leave.

From these extracts we learn that by an order published in the *Gazette of India* under date the 26th October 1896 "Lawrence Hugh Jenkins was appointed Commandant of the Battalion with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel vice Sterndale deceased". Lt.-Col. Jenkins was at that time a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court. He retained command till the 6th July 1899. Subsequently as Sir Lawrence Jenkins, K. C. I. E., he went to Bombay as Chief Justice and later on after having served for a period on the Council of the Secretary of State for India he returned to Calcutta as Chief Justice of Bengal.

Major Binning appears to have attained the rank of (Hony.) Lieutenant-Colonel during the year under report and also to have obtained his V. D., as he is mentioned for the first time as Lt.-Col. J. Binning, V. D., in Battalion orders dated the 28th November 1896 when his return from leave is notified.

Capt. St. John Seton, the Adjutant of the Battalion, vacated his appointment at the end of this season and was the Battalion's guest at a farewell dinner given by the officers.

The Report for the year 1897-98 begins with the gratifying announcement that the members of the Battalion had risen to 744 Active members and 52 Reservists making a total of 796 members. It also mentioned that 2 new companies were formed during the season F or Telegraph Company under the command of Capt. F. E. Dempster and G2 under the command of Capt. D. Coats Niven "with the co-operation of Mr. Johnstone who is to take command of G1 during the coming season".

It is of interest to know that during this season the Battalion obtained its first cyclist section which sprang from D Company under the command of Lt. G. B. Macintosh.

Lt.-Col. Jenkins vacated the command of the Battalion during this season on his being appointed Commandant of the Calcutta Volunteer Rifles and he was entertained at a farewell dinner by the officers. During the year under orders of the Government the three Battalions each with a separate commanding officer were placed under one Commandant and Lt.-Col. Jenkins was appointed to that office. The Command of the Battalion then devolved upon Lt.-Col. Binning. The Battalion in the new organisation lost its independent existence at the close of the season and as part of the Calcutta Volunteer Rifles was known as the Third (Presidency) Battalion, Calcutta Volunteer Rifles.

The popularity of the Battalion was shewn by the increase in numbers recorded in the Report of 1898-99 when we find there were 908 men on the rolls including 90 Reservists.

A new Company (H) was formed during the season and it consisted of men in the employ of the Port Commissioners at their Docks and offices in Kidderpore. At the same time E Company was reconstituted and called the Port Commissioner's Company retaining its initial letter but comprising men employed by the Port Commissioners in their jetties and offices in Calcutta; the old members of E company not employed at the jetties were transferred to G3 company.

On the amalgamation of the three Infantry Battalions into one Regiment to which reference has already been made the Corps vacated its temporary Head Quarters at No. 32/1, Dalhousie Square, and joined the other Battalions in occupying the Building still known as Volunteer Head Quarters on Strand Road, North of the Eden Gardens.

Lt. R. P. Jordan of the 1st Glosters succeeded Capt. S. John Seton as Adjutant but he did not hold the appointment long as his health failed and he had to go home. Lt. Ruck officiated for him during his temporary absence and on the 1st of March 1899 Capt. Fyffe was appointed Adjutant. Both these Officers belonged to the First Glosters and later on both these officers were among the besieged in Ladysmith during the South African Campaign.

Col. Jenkins retired during this year on his transfer to Bombay as Chief Justice and he was succeeded in the Command of the Regiment by Col. Oldham, the Senior member of the Board of Revenue, known for many years as the tallest man in the I. C. S. as he stood 6' 4" in his socks.

During the year the Battalions were renumbered, the first battalion retained its numeral but the 2nd (Cadet) Battalion and the 3rd (Presidency) Battalion exchanged their respective numerals and places. The following paragraph from Col. Oldham's Report on the Regiment cannot but raise a smile which probably the writer never intended : " The most important change proposed by the Committee was to renumber the 2nd (Cadet) and the 3rd (Presidency) Battalions making the latter the 2nd Battalion of the C. V. R. and the former always the last, the object being to provide automatically for the precedence of the adults many of whom have sons among the Cadets. The anomaly has often been discussed but owing to the Seniority of the establishment of the 2nd C. V. R. the question was not raised and has only been brought forward by Your Excellency's own notice of the anomalous position of the cadets at the last Proclamation Parade. It has a further practical bearing because owing to their numbering the 3rd (Presidency) Battalion's representatives have suffered severely and more than once at field days and at field firing in the matter of refreshment. A prominent object of the combination was to put an end to the jealousies which used to exist between them and the other Battalions and the anomaly under notice is an obstacle to the attainment of that object. Since Your Excellency's personal notice of this matter all adult units have been given precedence of the cadets on parade but the officers of the cadet Battalion represent that this course is tantamount to public degradation with the present numbering and the proposal to transpose the numbers comes from them ".

This Report is addressed to " H. E. the Right Honourable Lord Curzon of Kedleston, G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E., Viceroy and Governor General of India, Hony. Colonel, Calcutta Volunteer Rifles ".

The Report on the Battalion itself contains little of interest. There was a slight fall in its numbers but there does not seem to have been anything special to record.

Lt.-Col. Binning was appointed Commandant with effect from the 27th September 1899.

(*To be continued.*)

The True History of Holwell's Monument.

Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, magis amica Veritas.

To the Editor of "Bengal : Past and Present."

Sir,

HAD I not read it with my own eyes, I should have deemed it impossible that any serious historical student, as I presume that Mr. J. H. Little desires to be considered, should have occupied sixteen pages of print in your valuable journal,* in attempting to demonstrate to the world (1) that Holwell's Monument to the Black Hole victims, erected by him outside the Eastern Gate of Old Fort William, never existed save in the imagination of those who designed, saw, or described it : (2) that there was another monument, unseen by human eye and undescribed by human pen, which was erected inside the fort on the site of the Black Hole—notwithstanding that the low room so described remained intact for 50 years after the erection of this hypothetical monument on its site—and that it has been reserved for Mr. Little alone, after the lapse of 157 years, to discover the former existence of this object in the year 1917.

I confess that I have little patience with these attempts to rewrite history, in contempt for every rule of evidence, and that I do not admire the labour that is devoted to proving that black is white or that a circle is a square. But inasmuch as, while I was in India, I was called upon, when erecting a replica (with certain necessary alterations) of Holwell's pillar on the same site, to make a careful investigation of all the authorities and evidence relating to the original monument, and as Mr. Little has more than once appealed to myself, perhaps you will permit me to marshal the evidence—not with the hope of convincing Mr. Little, for even though Mr. Holwell were to rise from the dead and take him to the ditch of the Ravelin, and point out where the obelisk was placed he would probably decline to believe, but in order to assist in the final demolition of one of the most

* My criticism of Mr. Little is based exclusively upon his article, entitled "The Holwell Monument," in Vol. XIV, Part II, No. 28, pp. 275-290. I have been unable to refer to the earlier paper on the same subject in Vol. XIV, Part I, No. 27, pp. 92-98, because the entire consignment of this number seems to have been lost—I presume by submarine action—on its way to England, and I knew of it only from the reference in the "Table of Contents" enclosed with Part II.

egregious absurdities which it has ever been sought to foist upon the public.

Not the least astonishing feature of the case is that the greater part—though not the whole—of this evidence has already been collected with much assiduity by Mr. Little himself, and that it is out of the mouth of his own witnesses that he stands confuted. Very little of what I have to say is new, and much of it has been anticipated in your own excellent rejoinder. But it may be well that the case should be summarised once for all.

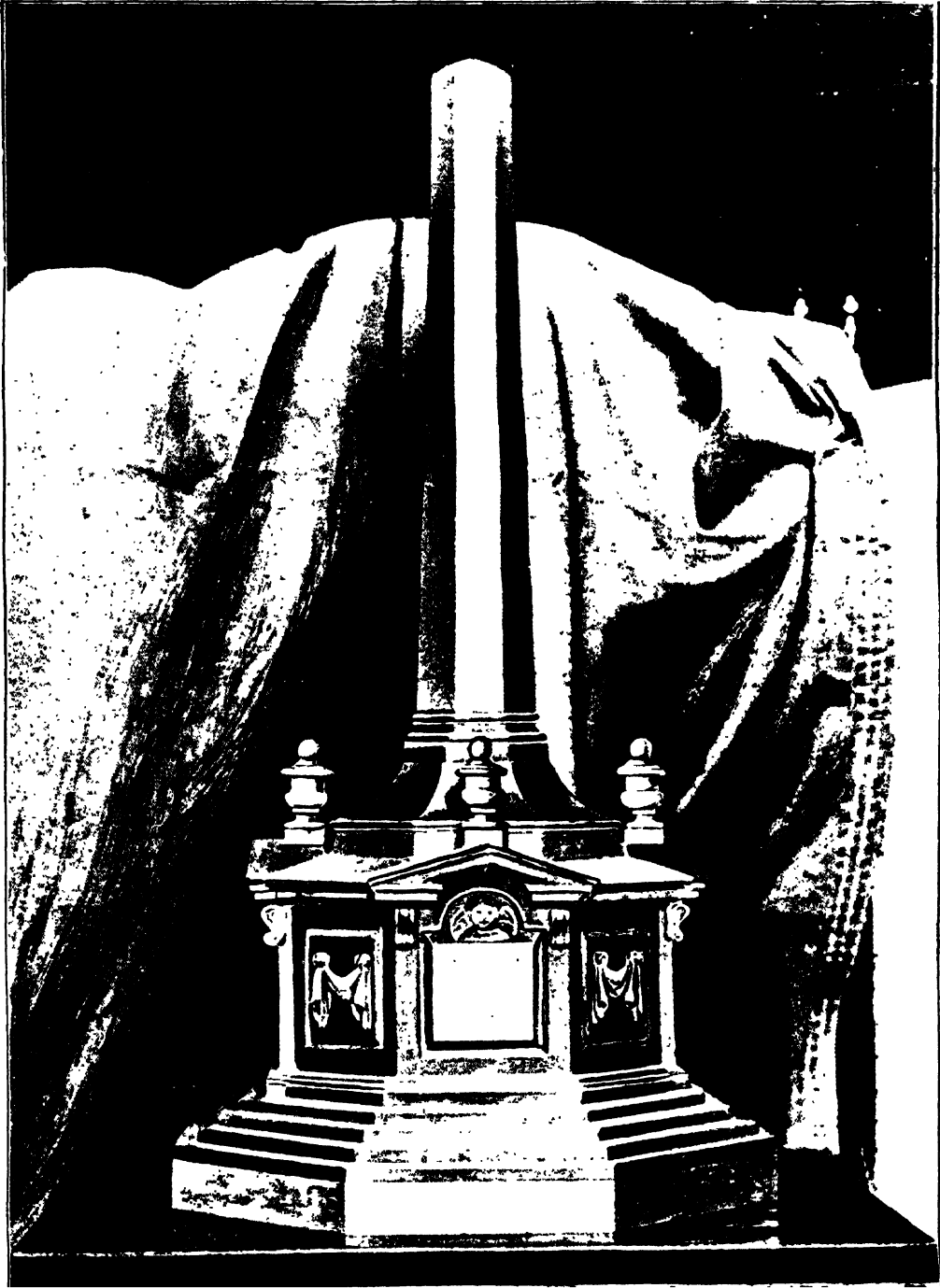
I.—After Holwell had returned to England in 1760, he prefixed to the second edition of "India Tracts" in 1764 (which contained his narrative of the Black Hole) an engraving of the monument that he had already erected over the remains of his fellow-countrymen at Calcutta. Whether the pillar had been set up during his brief Governorship at Fort William in 1760, or even earlier, or whether he had the tablets executed in London and sent out to India, we do not know. His own words in the Dedication are as follows:—

"Prefixing, as a frontispiece to the Volume, a Print of the Monument which I erected, at my own expence, to the memory of those unhappy sufferers."

The tense here employed would seem to point to erection while the writer was still in India. The pillar of brick and plaster was clearly of Calcutta manufacture.

The engraving further contained the inscriptions which Holwell had written for the front and reverse sides of the monument, and, in the former of these it was stated that the bodies of the victims had been thrown "into the Ditch of the Ravelin of *this place*"—obviously the place where the memorial pillar stood. Now a ravelin, as every student of military architecture knows, is an outwork, generally with two faces meeting in a salient angle, placed for defensive purposes in front of the main entrance to a castle or fort—in this case the main or Eastern Gateway of Old Fort William. This engraving is our first indication of the intention of the donor, of the appearance of the monument, and of the site on which it was raised within a few years of the incident which it commemorated. Mr. Little says (p. 283) that Holwell was silent as to the site. On the contrary, he indicated it with exactitude.

What has Mr. Little to say to the evidence of the Dedication? It was addressed to three gentlemen of repute in England, who were connected with the East India Company, and its author was at that time living in England (Walton-on-Thames), and could easily be brought to account for any false or mendacious claim. Does Mr. Little suggest that Holwell lied to his patrons, and told them that he had erected a monument when he



MODEL OF HOLWELL'S MONUMENT

Executed by his son and now in England.

had not? If so, how did he escape the exposure due to so idiotic a fabrication? Mr. Little, with commendable prudence, ignores the Dedication altogether.

II.—So proud was Holwell of this memorial that he had himself painted in oils, holding the sketch of it in his hand, and superintending the work of a native workman engaged in its erection. In the background are visible the base and scaffolding of the monument. Mr. Little airily dismisses this item of evidence with remark: "There is extant also a portrait of Holwell holding a drawing of the monument in his hand." He omits to say that this clearly contemporary portrait, very likely by Zoffany, was, until the year 1892 (when it was purchased by Lord Lansdowne for the Government of India) in the possession of Holwell's direct descendants in Canada, to whom it had come down from Holwell himself. The picture is now in India, where thousand of persons have seen it. On the sheet which Holwell is holding in his hand is depicted the obelisk of the "India Tracts" and of later illustrations.

Now what does Mr. Little mean with regard to this evidence? Does he mean to suggest that Holwell had himself painted with a design that was never executed, that the workman, the base, and the scaffolding were all a hoax, and that Holwell's descendants contentedly accepted this fraud at the time and for a century and quarter later? Or does he mean that this monument was designed and erected, but erected somewhere else? If so, what scintilla of evidence is there in favour of the latter hypothesis?

III.—There is at the present moment in a country house in England a model between three and four feet high of Holwell's Monument executed by or to the order of, Holwell's son, Lieutenant-Colonel James Holwell, who presented it to his father. I enclose for reproduction a photograph of this model, which is now in the hands of a gentleman connected by marriage with one of Holwell's descendants. On one of the sides may be seen this inscription: "To John Zephaniah Holwell this model is most affectionately inscribed by his dutiful son James Holwell;" and on another side are the words: "An exact model of the monument erected at Calcutta, Bengal."

Of course, the existence of this model does not prove that the original was erected outside the East Gate of the Old Fort in Calcutta. But, unless we are to believe that Holwell's son was as shameless a liar as, according to Mr. Little, was Holwell himself, it may be held to prove that the pillar was made, and was erected at Calcutta. Or are we to be told that father and son were partners in the same deliberate fraud, and that while the elder faked a drawing, the younger faked a model, of a monument that had no existence save in the imagination of both?

We now come to the evidence of contemporary travellers, writers, and

documents concerning both the existence and the site of the monument after its erection at Calcutta. Mr. Little's method with regard to this class of authority is twofold. First, he takes the evidence of those who both saw and described the monument, and, because of a contradiction here or an error there, he either declares that the witness is wholly unreliable, or else that, instead of trusting to his own eyes for his description, the witness really took it on hearsay from someone else. Secondly, having thus discredited all ocular evidence, Mr. Little argues that because such and such a visitor to or resident at Calcutta did not mention the monument during the 60 years of its alleged existence, therefore it did not exist at all.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the *argumentum ex silentio* is a very precarious weapon. If an object is to be held not to have existed because every contemporary witness has not joined in referring to it, there is scarcely a memorial in the world which could not be successfully proved to have been a myth. Supposing the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square to be destroyed by an earthquake or shattered by a bomb, it would be equally possible to argue in a century's time that it had never existed, because it was not mentioned in the speeches or writings of Wellington, Queen Victoria, Charles Lamb, Disraeli, Carlyle, Dickens, Macaulay, Froude, or this or that foreign visitor to our shores. From this it would be easy to pass on to the Duke of York's Column, and to argue that this was the only column in existence in that part of London, and that Nelson was in fact the Duke of York.

In the present case the absurdity of this style of reasoning is emphasised by the overwhelming testimony of those who spoke or wrote about Holwell's Monument from the evidence of their own eyes, and whose unanimity no amount of special pleading can impugn. If we place their testimony in chronological sequence, we shall see how close and unbroken is the chain.

IV.—1770. Early in 1770 the Dutch Captain Stavorinus, visiting Calcutta with an official mission, saw the Holwell Monument *in situ*, and thus described it :—

“Near the Great Tank is a stone monument erected in memory of thirty English prisoners, both men and women, who, when Calcutta was taken by the Nabob Surajah Dowlah, were shut up in a narrow prison, without any refreshment, and suffocated for want of fresh air.”

Now the monument was not of stone, but of plastered brick, and the number of persons commemorated was not thirty. But as to the existence and site of the obelisk the Dutchman's evidence is incontrovertible, and to set it down, as Mr. Little does, as “mere hearsay” is ridiculous.

V.—1776. In a grant of land on the north side of the Great Tank, dated the 12th November, 1776, “Mr. Holwell's monument,” which as we

know, stood there is expressly mentioned. (Sterndale, "Historical Account of the Calcutta Collectorate," p. 32.)

VI.—1784-5. In this year appeared Colonel Mark Wood's plan of Calcutta, in which the monument is clearly marked at the crossing opposite the Old Fort.

VII.—1786. In this year the two Daniells, uncle and nephew, were painting in Calcutta, and the rather rare series of "Twelve Coloured Views of Calcutta," published there in 1788, contains two drawings by Thomas Daniell in which Holwell's Monument appears.—

- (a.) The first of these, entitled: "Old Fort Street, looking North," shows the south-east angle, with turret, of the ruined fort, and its eastern gateway with the monument opposite it, in the street-crossing at the corner between Writers' Buildings and Tank Square.
- (b.) The second, entitled: "Mayor's Court and Writers' Buildings," shows the old Court House, and Writers' Buildings in long perspective, with the same monument in the same position in the far distance.
- (c.) A few years later, on the return of the Daniells to England, they brought out in London, over a period of years, the magnificent series of coloured prints, entitled "Oriental Scenery," in one volume of which (dated 1797) there is a third view of Holwell's Monument in the immediate foreground of the picture at the corner of Writers' Buildings. The monument is surrounded by a railing placed between chunam pillars of the conventional Calcutta type.

All of these drawings are by the same hand (Thomas Daniell); all represent the same monument, with exactly the same features, on exactly the same, *i.e.*, the actual, site.

How does Mr. Little dispose of this accumulation of evidence? He dismisses the two first drawings without comment, and he endeavours to discredit the third by saying that "it had developed urns and an iron railing in England;" that the position of the pillar does not correspond mathematically with the position marked in the contemporary plans of Calcutta; and therefore that "the whole picture was probably drawn from a literary source," that source being the engraving in Holwell's "India Tracts"!

It is scarcely possible to treat seriously a writer who manipulates his evidence in this fashion. Ordinary people will prefer to believe that Thomas Daniell drew three times what he had seen with his own eyes, instead of what Mr. Little, in the pursuit of a distorted fantasy, chooses to think that

he had not seen at all. Even as regards the urns and railing, Mr. Little is not correct, for they appear equally in the earlier with the later drawing; and, as is well known, were for many years a feature of the monument. Even if Mr. Little likes to think that the third drawing was "made up" in London, how does he account for the two first which had already been published in Calcutta? Does he really contend that the Calcutta people saw and purchased drawings of an object in their own midst which had no existence?

VIII.—1787. Richard Barwell in a deed dated June 15-16, 1787 (cited in "Bengal: Past and Present, 1917," p. 167) nominating new trustees for some property belonging to him "on the north side of the Great Tank," describes these lands as "lying and being intersected by the great road leading from Holwell's monument by the south front of the Court House to the Salt Water Lake."

This is the road depicted in all three of Daniell's drawings, at the western extremity of which is the crossing where Holwell's pillar stood. Mr. Little's attempt to discredit the deed has been sufficiently exposed in your columns (p. 294).

IX.—1789.—M. de Grandpré, a French officer, who was in Calcutta in 1789, published a book about his travels on his return to Europe, in which he describes what he had seen:—

"In remembrance of so flagrant an act of barbarity, the English, who were conquerors in their turn, erected a monument between the Old Fort and the right wing of the building occupied by the civil officers of the company, on the very spot where the deed was committed. It is a pyramid, truncated at the top, and standing upon a square pedestal, having a design in sculpture on each of its sides, and an inscription in the English and Moorish languages, describing the occasion on which it was erected. It is surrounded with an iron railing to prevent access to it, has shrubs planted about it, and exhibits a mournful appearance, not unsuitable to the event which it is intended to commemorate.

How does Mr. Little dispose of M. de Grandpré? It is done in the manner with which we are already familiar:—

"Grandpré's book contains a picture of the monument and its surroundings, and *not one line of it is true*. He could not possibly have made more mistakes about the monument. The Holwell monument was not truncated, it did not stand upon a square pedestal, it had no designs in sculpture on each of its sides, it had no inscription in the Persian language, the railing of Grandpré is not the railing of the Daniells, no shrubs were planted about it."

But if we turn from this slashing diatribe to the picture we shall see that it is not M. de Grandpré but Mr. Little who is discredited. For while the

Frenchman's drawing of Writers' Buildings is almost entirely fanciful, being no doubt put in after his return to France, and while his delineation of the pillar and its base is far from accurate, it affords incontrovertible evidence to the existence on this spot (which Mr. Little denies) of a monument which is clearly the Holwell obelisk and no other. Indeed, both here and elsewhere Mr. Little fails altogether to explain how it was, if the monument did not exist, and if all the people who drew or painted it copied only from the published plate of Holwell, there were such stupid and incomprehensible discrepancies in their reproductions? Why were they not true to their common model?

However, to revert to M. de Grandpré. The truncated pyramid of his letterpress is seen in his engraving to be Holwell's pillar after all, with its obtuse apex: the "square pedestal," a mistake which the four pedimented sides might easily suggest to a not too careful observer, is seen in the engraving to have its true octagonal shape; the urns and the iron railing are both there; the tablets, *pace* Mr. Little, did have sculptured designs upon them, either a cherub's head or the draped shroud known as the Saviour's shroud, which is so well-known a feature in eighteenth century sepulchral architecture; and the only novelty are the shrubs. As regards the inscriptions, the mention of a "Moorish" name, Suraj-ud-Dowla, is perhaps responsible for this error. The further mistake that the monument was erected "on the very spot where the deed was committed" is the sort of error that a foreigner relying upon local interpreters might easily commit, and is not after all so very serious, seeing that the obelisk was erected over the ditch into which the dead victims of the deed had been thrown. In fact M. de Grandpré's drawing—probably elaborated and embellished not by himself but by a French engraver—and his descriptions, which are manifestly regarded by Mr. Little as a corner-stone in his indictment, are, with all their blunders, in reality a very valuable piece of unconscious testimony to the exact opposite.

X.—1789. The "Calcutta Gazette" of the 30th July, 1789, alluding to the celebration in Calcutta of the recovery of King George III from his illness, relates that—

"The Old Court House, the Government House, the Monument, the Great Tank, and the two principal streets leading north and south to the esplanade, were adorned by Mr. Gairard."

Now to an ordinary person the juxtaposition of "the Monument" to the Great Tank, to which it was adjacent, would naturally suggest that it was Holwell's Monument that is here referred to, the more so as there was at that time no other public monument in the streets of Calcutta. But, of course, this will not suit Mr. Little; and so we are told that the monument

could not have been decorated in 1789, because there is no mention of its having been illuminated in 1792, 1804, 1814, and 1815! And further, as Mr. Little will not have a Holwell monument outside the Fort at any price, we are told that it must have been some other monument that was meant.

It is strange that Mr. Little's studies should have stopped short of acquainting him with the fact that Holwell's pillar was universally known and described in Calcutta as "The Monument," for the simple reason that outside the churchyards and cemeteries there was no other monument in the city.* In Wm. Baillie's Plan of 1792 it is so described in large letters. A Calcutta deed has been published (p. 187), dated July 19-20, 1797, in which there is a reference to "the Monument." Again, on the 14th August, 1800, there was an advertisement in the "Calcutta Gazette" of a sale by auction of a house at Sealdah, "about twenty minutes ride from the Monument." Finally, in Rozario's "Complete Monumental Register," published in Calcutta in 1813, the pillar is once more so described.

XI.—1792. In this year an English traveller named Thomas Twining, of whom Mr. Little has evidently not heard, and whose "Travels" were not brought out in book form till 1893, reached Calcutta. This is what he wrote :—†

"At the angle by which I entered the Tank Square, as the great area was called, stood an obelisk in a neglected ruinous state. As it was only a few yards out of my way, I went up to it. From my very early years few things had filled my mind with more horror than the very name of the Black Hole of Calcutta, although the exact history of its tragic celebrity was unknown to me. With peculiar force was this impression revived when, on deciphering an almost obliterated inscription, I found that the column which I beheld was the monument which had been erected to the memory of the victims of that horrible massacre. A native, who accompanied me, pointed to the part of the fort south of the principal gate in which the fatal dungeon itself was situated."

I am afraid that Mr. Twining is a very inconvenient witness for Mr. Little, for what now becomes of the latter's conclusion (p. 283) that between 1789 and 1803 "no witness has stated that he actually saw the monument with his own eyes." Here we have a witness, who not only saw the monument and described its site outside the fort, but sharply distinguished the latter from the Black Hole, and in his description was not guilty of a single traveller's error, to expose him to Mr. Little's ferocious scalpel. Shall we be told that Mr. Twining also was a liar, and only "wrote upon hearsay"? But even so, it was hearsay of the actual facts.

* This is admitted by Mr. Little himself when, on p. 275, he speaks sarcastically of "Calcutta's solitary monument."

† "Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago," by Thomas Twining, London, 1893.

XII.—1792. In the same year William Baillie published his "Plan of Calcutta," reduced from Colonel Mark Wood's map of 1784-5. The fatal monument is marked again on its fatal site in this fatal map, as to which all that Mr. Little, with a pang of bewildered anguish, can say is "How it got there is a mystery." It would indeed have been a mystery if it had not.

XIII.—1794. In this year William Baillie added to his offence by publishing, in a series of "Twelve Views of Calcutta," a "View of Tank Square from the East." There once more, at the same corner, is the obelisk with its octagonal base. As to this, Mr. Little can only observe: "It is somewhat small, but seems to approach nearer to the truncated square pyramid of Grandpré's description than to the monument of the Daniells." Quite true, it does resemble Grandpré's description, because it is a picture of the same object.

XIV.—1794. But another map is not less disconcerting. During the years 1792 and 1793, Aaron Upjohn made the surveys of Calcutta and its environs, which resulted in his well-known map, published in April 1794. Again on the fatal spot, between the corner of Writers' Buildings and the Great Tank appears an octagon, with the description attached to it, "Monument." Once more, says Mr. Little, "it is a mystery how it got there." What is history to other people is always a mystery to Mr. Little.

XV.—1797. Here I quote the terms of the mortgage before referred to and dated the 19th-20th of July, 1797, in which a house and ground are described as being "bounded on the west by the public street leading from the Monument to the Esplanade, on the north by a street leading parallel with the Great Tank." Here again the topographical features are unmistakable.

XVI.—1800. I have already cited the reference to "the Monument" in an advertisement in the "Calcutta Gazette" of the 14th August, 1800.

XVII.—1803. In this year Lord Valentia was in Calcutta, where, as the guest of Lord Wellesley, he attended the great ball, given by the Governor-General to celebrate both the peace of Amiens and the opening of the new Government House. In his "Travels" (published in 1809), after referring to the Black Hole, which he could not see, because it was "filled with goods, being used as a godown or warehouse," he added—

"A monument is erected facing the gate, to the memory of the unfortunate persons who there perished."

Upon which Mr. Little indulges in the following astonishing comment: "Did he see the monument? There is no proof that he did. ... All we can say is that he honestly believed that there was a monument facing the east gate of the fort. *His evidence is hearsay.*" A more admirable

illustration of Mr. Little's method cannot be conceived. All he has to do is to say Q.E.D., and poor Lord Valentia is disposed of.

XVIII.—1810. In 1824 there appeared a book of Indian recollections by one R. G. Wallace, who had been in Bengal from 1810 to 1812, and who wrote thus of his Calcutta memories—

“When I was in Calcutta, the Black Hole was to be seen, and the Monument which commemorated its tragical story, though so much shattered by lightning that I understand it now ceases to meet the eye.”

The natural inference from these words is surely (1) that the writer saw the monument, (2) that it had already been struck by lightning (which we know from other sources to have been the fact), (3) that before the publication of his book the author had heard of its demolition in 1821.

XIX.—1812. Another visitor to Calcutta in 1812 has left in a letter, signed “As iaticus,” that appeared in the “Asiatic Journal,” and was quoted in the “Pioneer” of the 20th January, 1901, a description of a visit paid in that year by himself and some friends to the Black Hole, then under sentence of demolition. After a very accurate description of the famous chamber, as it then existed, he added—

“To the right of the Writers’ Buildings a monument is erected, with an inscription commemorating the barbarity of the Nawab. It serves as the first attraction to a stranger arriving in Calcutta.”

Mr. Little makes no reference to this testimony, which even his tests would, I think, leave unshaken.

XX.—1813. I have already cited the reference to Rozario's “Monumental Register,” published in Calcutta in this year, which reproduced the inscriptions on “the Monument.”

XXI.—1815. In this year appeared the “East India Gazetteer” by Walter Hamilton, the material of which was obviously either supplied, or corrected, by authorities on the spot. The reference to Holwell's pillar is as follows :—

“The Black Hole is now part of a warehouse, and filled with merchandise. A monument is erected facing the gate to commemorate the unfortunate persons who there perished : but it has been struck by lightning, *and is itself fast going to decay.*”

The last words, underlined by me, appear to convey the latest local information.

XXII.—1817. In this year, a surgeon's mate on a British ship, named Robert Hull, visited Calcutta and left the following entry in his MS. journal, since published in “Bengal : Past and Present, 1916,” vol. xiii, p. 19. After describing a visit to the Black Hole, which still existed, he says :—

"Opposite it and near the extremity of the Writers' Buildings is erected a monument to commemorate the cruelty and the vengeance it subsequently received. It is a plain pyramid, supported by a quadrangular base—on the western face of which is an inscription, that 'The cruelty of the Rajah was amply revenged in the sequel. It is a mean monument. [Then follows a reference to a passage in Milburn's 'Oriental Commerce' (1813), which had clearly been taken verbatim from M. de Grandpré's narrative already quoted. Upon this Mr. Hull goes on to remark :] I saw no sculptured designs on either face of the pedestal, no iron railing, nor shrubs ; and so far from its exhibition, in my opinion, of a 'not unsuitable appearance,' it appeared totally unworthy of the universal interest excited by that most hideous event ; nor does it seem to have arrested the attention of the natives—none of whom I inquired could point out the Black Hole close to it."

Mr. Little in pursuit of his obsession that there never was a Holwell Monument outside the Fort, but that there was a mean monument inside it, deduced from the above that the surgeon's mate never saw the Holwell Monument at all, but copied what he had read about it in books. What an extraordinary set of people the visitors to Calcutta at that time must, according to Mr. Little, have been. I confess that I should have drawn from the above passage precisely the opposite inference ; and that I should not have expected too much accuracy from the diary of a surgeon's mate.

XXIII.—Circ. 1818. Somewhere between the years 1815-1821, and probably in 1818, James Baillie Fraser, the well-known Persian traveller, and an excellent amateur artist, was in Calcutta, after travelling with his brother William, a distinguished civilian, subsequently murdered at Delhi. On his return to Europe he published a number of views of Calcutta (1824), in two of which Holwell's Monument appears. The first of these is a near view of the pillar, which is described as "the Monument." It stands upon the familiar site, Writers' Buildings are on the left side of the drawing, the iron railing has disappeared from the monument, and natives are standing or squatting at its base, among whom a barber is plying his trade under a small awning. The other is a more distant view of the pillar, in a plate entitled "A view of Tank Square." Mr. Little does not notice these drawings. One wonders whether he would have discovered that Fraser was subject to the same malady as all his brother artists, and having painted what was not there may, in Mr. Little's summary phrase, be "noted and dismissed."

XXIV.—1819. There is in Calcutta (it is published in Vol. II of C. R. Wilson's "Old Fort William") a "Plan of the Custom House, 1819," which was in course of erection on the site of the demolished fort. This plan is as unaccommodating as its predecessors. On the familiar site at the familiar crossing is inscribed the word "Obelisk."

XXV.—1820. A Frenchman, named Deville, visited Bengal, and wrote

a series of letters to a friend in France, which were published in Paris in 1826. This is what he had to say about the monument :—

“ Un des plus importants [des monumens de Calcutta], non par la beauté de son architecture, mais par la catastrophe horrible dont il rappelle les malheurs et perpétue le souvenir, se fait remarquer à l'un des angles de squarepond, ou étang quarré.* Sa forme est pyramidale, terminé par une boule. On voit à sa base des inscriptions et des bas-reliefs qui représentent les diverses circonstances d'un des évènements les plus mémorables de la ville de Calcutta. Il fut causé par la révolte imprévue des natifs contre les Européens, leurs oppresseurs.”

Rejoicing in the obvious embellishment of the “boule,” and in the other traveller's inaccuracies, Mr. Little gleefully puts the extinguisher on the unhappy Frenchman thus : “ Captain Deville's evidence may be noted and dismissed.” Personally, I also should note it, but without dismissal.

XXVI.—1821. Early in this year the “Calcutta Journal,” in two numbers, referred to the final removal of the delapidated, battered, and lightning-stricken pillar of the now almost forgotten Holwell.

On the 6th April, 1821, we read :—

“ The monument over the well-remembered Black Hole of Calcutta is at length taken down, and we think should long ago have been demolished ;” and the slip about “ over the Black Hole ” (which had itself already disappeared) instead of “ over the ditch ” affords the solitary foothold to which Mr. Little clings in his desperate attempt to evolve a monument inside the fort !

On the 11th April “Brittanus” indignantly protests against the sacrilege involved in taking down the monument, which he said possessed “ a mysterious interest,” and

“ dark and weather-beaten appearance seemed to make it contemporaneous with the event which it recorded, and thereby imparted to it a higher interest than any work of later date can possess.”

If we were still capable of being astonished, we might be surprised that Mr. Little actually puts “Brittanus” in the witness-box to testify to “ a monument inside the fort, and not outside.” But our power of surprise has long ago been exhausted.

There remain two points to be noticed before I conclude.

Mr. Little, having destroyed in his own fashion the Holwell Monument outside the fort, and having created, also in his own fashion, another monument inside it, of which he can say nothing more precise than that “ some block of masonry was found on the site of the Black Hole, which, *if generous*

* This is obviously the Frenchman's misunderstanding of “Tank Square,” which he took to be the same as “Square Tank.”

explanations were made and a little imagination exercised, might pass for a monument, though a very unsatisfactory one assuredly"—asks pathetically: "Are there any pictures of the monument that was found inside the fort?"

The answer is No, because no monument or block of masonry was ever so found, and it was not found, because it never existed. Mr. Little then conjectures that the print mentioned by me in a speech at Calcutta may have been the picture of such a monument. No, it was not. It was a print existing in Calcutta when I was there, of Holwell's pillar, which had a dark stain or crack running down one side from top to bottom, as though it had been struck by lightning. From this crack there emerged what looked like the creepers of a *peepul*. Whether the deep black streak represented a fissure caused by lightning, I cannot confidently say. But it was so regarded by several of those who saw it.

The second point in this. Mr. Little enquires, if there was a monument outside the eastern gate of the Fort, how was it that when diggings were made at a much later date, its foundations were not discovered? The answer is very simple. The corner of Tank Square during the last three-quarters of a century has been so frequently opened for drainage schemes, water schemes, tramway schemes, that every vestige of foundation, if such existed, must have been destroyed many times over. When Mr. Roskell Bayne was making his excavations in 1883, he found nothing of the old monument, though from the sections of the cutting he saw that the mould showed signs of animal matter. To the above facts may be added that the further disturbance of the soil caused by the erection on the same site, firstly of a heavy lamp post, and afterwards of the statue of Sir Ashley Eden, cannot have conduced to the preservation of any old foundations that might have survived.

I have now shown by a continuous series of records covering the entire period from 1760, when the monument was erected, till 1821, when it was taken down, that Holwell's pillar stood, where he himself had it placed, *i.e.*, outside the eastern gate of the Fort, and that for 60 years it was a prominent landmark of Calcutta, described or depicted by over a score of pens or pencils. That anyone should think it worth while to argue that all these witnesses were either impudent fabricators and frauds, painting what was not there and describing what they had not seen, or else the innocent victims of the most astonishing series of optical illusions ever recorded in history, would be deemed incredible had not Mr. Little charged himself with the task. With a similar treatment of evidence it would be easy to show a century hence that no such person as Mr. Little had ever existed. Indeed, posterity will be inclined to believe that this was the case, on the double ground that no serious person could so treat history or travesty research,

and that contemporary records were silent as to the presence in the first quarter of the twentieth century in Bengal of a super-wag of that name.

But is not this after all the true and transparent explanation? And has not Mr. Little in his spirited rewriting of history, first about the Black Hole, and now about the Holwell Monument, to use a colloquial phrase, been "pulling the leg" of the Calcutta people during the last two years? Clearly this must be so; no other interpretation fits. On that obvious and unavoidable assumption I conclude with an apology both to him and to the readers of "Bengal : Past and Present" for having taken so seriously one of the brightest *jeux d' esprit* of our time.

I am, dear Mr. Editor,

Yours faithfully,

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

December, 1917.

Early History of Bengal—IV.

MAHIPĀLA was succeeded by his son, Nāyapāla. Accepting Taranath's statement that Mahipala reigned for fifty-two years, we may place the date of Nāyapala's accession at 1032 A. D. The most interesting event of Nāyapala's reign is, I think, the mission of the great Buddhist reformer, Atisa, also known as Dipankara Srijnāna, to Thibet. In my last paper I gave a brief sketch of the first part of Atisa's career, as presented to us in his "Life" published by the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, which is based on certain Thibetan chronicles. He was appointed by Nāyapāla to be High Priest of the Monastery of Vikramasila. The exact site of this great institution has not as yet been fixed, but in a Thibetan chronicle it is described as situated on a small hill or bluff on the south bank of the Ganges. This description would correspond with Sultānganj in the Bhagulpur district, where remains of a large Buddhist vihāra, and a stupa containing a relic casket have been found. Among these ruins were discovered a colossal copper statue of the Buddha 7 ft 3 inches in height, and two small stone figures and other Buddhist remains. There is, however, nothing, so far as I know, to prove the identity of the Sultanganj vihara with Vikramasila. The inscriptions on the statues found there are in characters of the Gupta period. As we shall see later on, it appears from the Thibetan records that Vikramasila was not very far from Nalanda and Vajrasana, or Bodh Gaya.

The Thibetan chronicles tell us that King Lha Llama of Thibet, who was a pious Buddhist, being dissatisfied with the Buddhist teachers of that country, whose cult had become greatly debased by the admixture of Tantrik and Bon mysticism, sent twenty-one young monks, trained at the monastery of Thoding, which had been founded by him in 1025 A. D., to Kashmir, Magadha, and other places in India, where pure Buddhism prevailed, for purposes of study, and commanded them to invite to Thibet the renowned Kashmirian Pundit, Ratna Vajra, and the Buddhist hierarch of Magadha, and any other Pundits who might be useful to the cause of Buddhist reform in Thibet. By this means, King Lha Llama secured the services of thirteen Indian Pundits but, out of twenty-one monks sent by him from Thibet to India, as many as nineteen died in India from heat, fever, snake bite, and other causes. The remaining two lochavas, as Thibetans learned in Sanskrit were called, visited Vikramasila, and there heard of Atisa, who, they were informed, occupied the highest position among the Buddhist scholars of Magadha, and was the second *sarvajna* of the school of 500 Arhats called the Mahasanghika. The lochavas did not then

venture to invite him to Thibet, and, returning there, gave the King an account of their mission in India, and of the condition of the Buddhist Church in Magadha. King Lha Llama, who was very anxious to see Atisa, next commissioned one Gyatson Senge to proceed to Vikramasila, taking with him a hundred attendants, and a large quantity of gold. Arrived at Vikramasila, Gyatson presented to Atisa the King's letter with a large piece of gold as a present, and begged him to honour his country with a visit. Atisa, however, declined to accept the present, or go to Thibet, at which Gyatson wept bitterly, wiping his tears with a corner of his sacerdotal robe. Atisa, it appears, did his best to console the disappointed lochava, but maintained his refusal of the King's invitation.

Gyatson went back to Thibet, and reported the result of his mission to the King, who, later on, proceeded to the frontier of Nepal for the purpose of collecting more gold from a gold mine, which had been discovered to the south of Purang, apparently under the impression that Atisa's objections to going to Thibet might be overcome by a larger offer. On arriving at the gold mine, the King of Thibet had an encounter with the troops of the Raja of Garlog who professed a religion inimical to Buddhism. It is not clear where this place, Garlog, was, or whether there was any dispute about the possession of the goldmine, but the result of the encounter was that the troops of the Raja of Garlog, who outnumbered those of the King of Thibet, took the latter captive, and led him in triumph to their capital. On seeing Lha Llama, the King of Garlog, is reported to have said:—"This king is endeavouring to spread Buddhism by inviting to Thibet a Buddhist Pundit from Magadha. We shall not let him free until he becomes our vassal, and embraces our religion." From this speech it would seem that the hostility of the Raja of Garlog was due rather to odium theologicum than to any dispute about the goldmine. However that may be King Lha Llama was thrown into prison by the Raja of Garlog. Subsequently, on Lha Llama's nephew, Chan Chub, negotiating for his release, the Raja of Garlog agreed to release him, on condition either that Lha Llama should become his vassal, and embrace his creed, or that a solid mass of gold of the size and shape of Lha Llama's person should be given as his ransom. The latter condition being more acceptable to Lha Llama than the first, his sons sent officers to collect gold from his subjects in the different provinces of Thibet, but all the gold that could be thus raised did not come up to the quantity required. It is said that, when melted and cast to form a statue of the captive king, the gold was found deficient by the amount needed to make the head. By permission of the Raja of Garlog, an affecting interview then took place between Lha Llama and his nephew, Chan Chub. The situation was explained by Chan Chub, who observed that it was

due to his uncle's *karma*, and mentioned that the Raja of Garlog had offered to release him, provided that he would become a vassal of the Garlog State. Lha Llama replied: "Death is more welcome to me than the vassalage of a wicked and infidel Raja."

Chan Chub then offered to go and get more gold, but Lha Llama said: "My son, you should preserve the traditions and the religion of our ancestors: that is of the utmost importance to us all. In my opinion, in our country, the laws based on Buddhism should be maintained. My *karma* will not permit me to see the wished-for reformation. I am now grown old, and verge on death's door. Even if you succeed in releasing me, my life may not extend to more than ten years. In none of my former births, I believe, did I die for the sake of Buddhism. This time let me, therefore, be a martyr to the cause of my religion. Do not give a grain of gold to this cruel Raja. Take back the whole of it, that you may conduct religious services in the great monasteries, and spend it in bringing an Indian Pundit to Thibet. If ever you send any messenger to the great Indian Pundit, Dipankara Srijñāna, let this message of mine be conveyed to him: Lha Llama, the King of Thibet, has fallen into the hands of the Raja of Garlog, while endeavouring to collect gold for diffusing the Religion of Buddha, and for the Pundit himself. The Pundit should, therefore, vouchsafe his blessings and mercy unto him in all his transformed existences. The chief aim of the King's life has been to take him to Thibet to reform Buddhism, but, alas! that did not come to pass. With a longing look to the time when he could behold the Pundit's saintly face, he resigned himself absolutely to the Holy of Holies."

The interview then came to an end, as the Raja of Garlog would not allow it to continue longer, and the story describes Chan Chub as looking back again and again to catch a glimpse of Lha Llama through the grated door. Still hoping for his uncle's release, Chan Chub returned to Thibet to collect more gold, but meanwhile Lha Llama died, and Chan Chub came to the throne of Thibet in his place. I presume that the explanation of Lha Llama, who had sons, being succeeded by his nephew, Chan Chub, instead of by one of his sons, is that succession to the throne of Thibet went in the female line, so that a King was succeeded, not by his son, but by his sister's son. As soon as he came to the throne, Chan Chub wished to give effect to his late uncle's desire of bringing a great Indian Pundit to Thibet, to reform the Buddhist religion; and, for this purpose, he selected a young Thibetan scholar named Tshul Khrim, who had been to India, and studied Sanskrit, and become an accomplished *lochava*, or interpreter. He was also well versed in the system of moral discipline connected with Buddhist monachism known as *Vinaya*, and, for that reason, had the epithet or title, *Vinayadhara*. This young man belonged to the family which bore the name of Nag-Tcho, and,

in the chronicle, he is referred to, sometimes by his personal name, Tshul-Khrim, sometime as Vinayadhara, sometimes as Nāg-Tcho. He will be referred to henceforward in this paper by the last of these appellations. King Chan Chub, then, instructed Nāg-Tcho to proceed to India, and, if possible, induce Atisa to go to Thibet : if not, to bring a Pundit second to him in learning and holiness.

Nāg-Tcho took with him a party of five men, and he was furnished with a piece of gold weighing sixteen ounces, for presentation to the Indian Pundit ; seven ounces of gold for Nāg-Tcho himself, seven ounces for his expenses, and five ounces for payment to an interpreter of the colloquial language of Magadha.

When the party arrived at the Indian frontier, they made a halt at a house built of bamboos, but, getting wind of a plot concerted by some of the local people to kill them, for the sake of the gold which they carried, they left the place in the evening, and, travelling through the night, in the morning fell in with the party of a Nepalese prince, who was also going to Vikramasila. Proceeding in his company, they reached the bank of the Ganges at sunset. It, thus, took them a little less than twenty-four hours to travel from the frontier of Nayapala's dominions,—presumably, the frontier between them and Nepal—to the Ganges. Probably, they went at a footpace, and made some short halts on the way. At the point where they struck the Ganges, there was a public ferry, and a boat with a party of passengers was just leaving for the opposite bank. There was no room in the boat for them, but the boatman said he would come back to fetch them. After dusk, the boat came back, and took the prince and his party across, leaving Nāg-Toho and his five companions on the river bank. As night came on, they became alarmed. There were no habitations quite near, and the people of the locality, who lived at a little distance, had, it seems, a bad reputation.

The Tirthikas, or orthodox Hindus, and followers of other heretical religions were unfriendly to Buddhists. Accordingly, the travellers buried their treasure of gold in the sand, and, thinking that the boat would not come back for them, prepared to lie down and sleep in the open. However, at a late hour, the sound of the fall of oars on the water was heard, and the boat arrived. Nāg-Tcho said to the boatman ; “ I thought you would not come back at this time,” and the boatman answered : “ In our country there is law. Having assured you that I would come, I could not neglect to do so without being liable to punishment.” Then they dug up their gold from the sand in which it was buried, embarked on the boat, and were ferried across. The boatman warned them not to sleep on the river bank, as there was danger from venomous snakes, and said : “ Go right up to the monastery, and stay for the night under the turret of the gateway. During the night

there is no fear there. I hope no thieves will disturb you." There is, I think, something significant in that answer, which seems to have struck the Thibetans. "In our country" the ferryman said, evidently with some pride, "there is law," implying that India was a country with an ancient civilisation, and a population accustomed to a settled government, and a regular system of laws, and, perhaps, in that respect, contrasting, at that time, with Thibet. So, from time immemorial, it may be said, India has been a country of law, inhabited by a lawabiding people, and, though periods of anarchy and disorder have occurred from time to time in different parts of India, the people, as a whole, have generally shewn themselves ready to accept and welcome a stable and strong government, which is capable of administering and enforcing the law.

The various references to thieves in the narrative might be taken to indicate that the policing of Nāyapāla's kingdom was not extraordinarily efficient. On the other hand, we have the fact that a small party of men, with a considerable quantity of gold in their charge, were able to travel from Thibet across Nepal and down to the Ganges without actual misadventure.

The chronicle goes on to say that the monastery of Vikramasila was situated on a little bluff or hill on the bank of the river Ganges. This description would correspond with Sultanganj.

On landing from the ferry, the travellers went straight up to the monastery, and, late though it was, were received by an official, who, after ascertaining who they were, and where they came from, pointed out a *dharmasāla* near the gate, where they stayed for the night. The next morning, the monastery gate was opened, and they went in, and found their way to the building assigned for the use of Thibetans, where Gyatson Sengce, the same lochāva, who had previously been commissioned by Lha Llama, without success, to bring Atisa to Thibet, was staying. He had, it seems, returned to India, and was engaged in study at Vikramasila. Gyatson advised Nāg-Tcho to become a resident pupil of Sthavira Ratnakara, the superior of the monastery. Atisa, it seems, was high priest of the monastery, but not its head, and was in fact, subordinate to Ratnakara.

The chronicle goes on to describe how Nāg-Tcho was introduced to Ratnakara, by whom he was kindly received, and permitted to study the sacred books. The next day he was present at a great religious assembly, which was attended by many learned Buddhists, including Atisa, and also by the Raja of Vikramasila, who was, evidently, a feudal chief subordinate to Nāyapāla.

Nāg-Tcho afterwards got into communication with Atisa, and, with the help of Gyatson, at length, and after various oracles had been consulted, succeeded in inducing Atisa to promise to go to Thibet after the lapse of a

period of eighteen months, which would be required to complete some work, which he had in hand. His design of going to Thibet, however, had to be kept secret on account of the opposition which would be raised by the Sthavira Ratnakara and others.

The interval was employed by Nāg-Tcho in study. It is stated that, one day, Nāg-Tcho and Gyatson went together to Atisa who said to them : " You lochavas are a very earnest people. Gyatson has related to me personally everything about his country. From his graphic and pathetic account my heart shivers to think of the sufferings of the King of Thibet, and I deplore his lamentable death. I also pity the sinful Rāja of Garlog. There is no other place for him to go except hell." The time for Atisa's departure having at length arrived, his luggage was first sent off, secretly, and at night, from Vikramasila, loaded on thirty horses, to a monastery named Mitra Vihara, which appears to have been situated to the north of the Ganges, on the way to Nepal. Atisa then announced his intention of proceeding with the Thibetans on a pilgrimage to the eight sacred places of the Buddhists, that is, the scenes of the eight chief events of the Buddha's life. The Sthavira, who seems to have suspected Atisa's design, insisted on accompanying him in the pilgrimage, which they, accordingly, made together, along with about sixty other persons. After their return, Atisa announced his intention of going on another pilgrimage *viā* the Mitra Vihara to the *chaitya* of Svayambhu in Nepal, adding that, as the distance was great, he did not wish to take many people with him. Ratnakara then perceived clearly that Atisa meant to make his way to Thibet, but, although he had it in his power to prevent him from going there, he reflected that, by doing so, he might prevent Atisa from doing good to others, that Atisa's wish to go to Thibet came from his goodness and purity of heart, and that the Thibetans had made great sacrifices to get him. He, therefore, magnanimously agreed to allow Atisa to go to Thibet for three years only, and asked Nāg-Tcho to promise that he should return within that time. Nāg-Tcho seems to have evaded giving this promise, and finally got the Sthavira to agree that Atisa should act as he pleased in regard to returning from Thibet. So, in the year 1040 A. D. Atisa, with a large retinue, including, besides the Thibetans, Nāg-Tcho, Gyatson Senge, and his brother Virya Chandra, Pundit Bhumi-Garbha, and Maha Rāja Bhumi Sangha, who seems to have been a Royal Monk, left Vikramasila for Mitra Vihara. In bidding him farewell, the Sthavira was evidently much dejected, and remarked that the signs promised evil for India, as numerous Turushkas, that is, Muhammadans, were invading the country, and he was much concerned at heart. At the Mitra Vihara the party were received with enthusiasm by the monks, and they were equally well received at a small Vihara near the frontier of Nepal on the Indian side,

and also by the Acharyas, that is, religious teachers of the Tirthikas, at a sacred place of theirs, just beyond the frontier. Some of the Saivas, however, who were very jealous of the Buddhists, sent eighteen robbers to assassinate Atisa, but, as soon as they saw his venerable face, the robbers were struck dumb, and stood motionless as so many statues. Having advanced a short distance, Atisa said "I pity the robbers," and, uttering some charms, drew figures on the sand, which had the effect of restoring the stupefied robbers to their senses.

Some quaint tales are told of incidents of the journey illustrative of Atisa's compassion and kindness of heart. Finding three puppies left uncared for at a deserted camping ground of a herdsman, he took them in the folds of his robe saying: "Ah poor little ones, I pity you," and carried them for some distance. It is said that the breed of those puppies is still to be seen at a place called Radeng. The Raja of a place in Nepal, where the party halted for a night, being annoyed with Atisa for refusing to give him a small sandalwood table, which Atisa was taking to Thibet as a present, set robbers on to waylay him; but Atisa, again uttering charms, and drawing mystic figures on the ground, threw the robbers into a trance, from which he again released them by the use of mantras, and sprinkling sand towards them, presumably, after he had got to a safe distance. Next, the party reached the sacred place of Svayambhu in Nepal, where they were entertained in great style by the local Raja. There Gyatson Senge fell sick with fever, and died. One account says that, before his death, he was carried to the riverside, in order to evade a custom of the country, by which, if a person died while staying as a guest in another man's house, his host inherited all his property. According to another account, Gyatson's dead body was taken to the riverside and disposed of secretly, and, in the morning, his clothes and bedding were carried in a *dhuli*, as if he were still alive, so as to avoid the delay and trouble, which would have been caused by the government investigation into the cause of his death. From Svayambhu Atisa wrote an epistle to King Nayapāla, which Nag-Tcho translated into Thibetan.

The party next proceeded to a place called Holkha, in the district of Palpa, where Atisa was entertained for a month by a Buddhist sage, who suffered from deafness; and was known as the deaf sthavira. The chronicle, as translated by the Rai Bahadur, says, rather quaintly, that the deaf sthavira heard from Atisa a discourse on the parāmitas, which lasted six days.

They then reached the plain of Palpa called Palpoi than, where the King of Nepal, Ananta Kirti, was holding court at the time. The king received Atisa with much cordiality and reverence, and Atisa presented him with an elephant, asking, in return, that the King should build a monastery there, to

be called *Thán Vihāra*, which was accordingly done. At the same time, the King's son, Prince Padmaprabhā, was ordained as a monk by Atisa.

At their next stage Atisa and his party entered Thibetan territory, where they found an escort of one hundred horsemen under four generals, who had been deputed to receive them. Each of the generals had with him sixteen lancers bearing white flags, while the rest of the escort carried smaller flags, and twenty of them white satin umbrellas. The band consisted of flutes, bag-pipes, guitars, and other musical instruments.

With a sonorous and grave noise, the chronicle says, uttering the sacred mantra, "Om mani padme hum," they approached the holy sage of Magadha to offer him a respectful welcome in the name of the King of Thibet. The account goes on :

"The King's representative named Nari-Tcho Sumpa, with his five companions, presented Atisa with about five ounces of gold, one tray full of treacle, and tea prepared in Thibetan manner, in a cup decorated with figures of the Chinese dragon. In offering the tea, he said : 'Venerable sage, permit me to make an offering of this celestial drink, which contains the essence of the wishing tree'."

"Atisa, who was seated on a thick stuffed cushion, at the top of the row, in an exalted position, said : 'The concatenation of circumstances is auspicious. This curious cup of precious substance contains an elixir of the wishing tree. What is the name of the drink, which you prize so much ? The lochava said : 'Venerable Sir, it is called *cha* ; the monks of Thibet also drink it. We do not know that the *cha* plant is eaten, but the leaves are churned, being mixed with soda, salt, and butter, in warm water, and the soup is drunk. It has many properties.' Atisa observed : 'So excellent a beverage as tea must have originated from the moral merits of the monks of Thibet.'"

Atisa travelled in a leisurely manner through Thibet, halting for a month at Nag-Tcho's home, at a place called Zo-gna Chen-po, where he stayed as Nag-Tcho's guest. Another halt of seven days was made at a place called Dok Mamolin near the shore of the great lake Manosarovara called in Thibetan Ma-pham. The chronicle relates that, during the march, the generals in command of the escort sang a song of welcome, like those wise ministers of King Thi-srong-dentsan, who, three centuries before, as mentioned in my last paper, had escorted Acharya Santa Rakshita, also a native of Gauḍa, or Bengal, from the confines of India to Thibet. A speech addressed by the senior general to Atisa has been handed down, in which the merits of the country of Thibet and its king, and the benefits which the country would derive from Atisa's visit were recounted. In the course of this address the general said : "Though, in this country, there is wanting

the religious prosperity, which India possesses, yet there are many advantages, which would be vainly sought for in India. Here, in the country of Purgyal, there is no scorching heat, and everywhere there are sparkling fountains and pellucid streams. In winter the climate of Thibet is not rigorous. In the sheltered sides of the mountains of Thibet, there is generally warmth, which makes this country delightful in winter. In the Spring season people hardly suffer from any scarcity of food, and the five kinds of grain are cultivated for a harvest of plenty. In autumn, the country becomes a mass of emerald by the abundance of vegetation in the fields as well as on the hills and in the dales." At the conclusion of this address, the general sang the song: "Lo-a lo ma lo la lo la, etc."

The horse, on which the great sage rode, ambled gently like the walking of the golden swan, and, at times, Atisa lifted himself in the air a cubit above the saddle, not touching it at all, with a view to be distinguished from others. A smile was ever present on his face, and Sanskrit mantras were always on his lips. His expressions were happy, and, at the end of a sentence, he often said: "Ati bhalo, ati mangal, ati bhala hai"—"It is very well, it is very suspicious."

The good humour and cheerful spirits of the Thibetans seem to have struck Atisa, as they do modern travellers. Looking at his escort, he said: "These officers of Tha-Tsun-pa—that is, the King of Thibet—have in their mirth, surpassed the mirth and joy of Pramada, the King of the Gandharvas....It is, indeed, true that Himavat is the province of Avalokitesvara's religious discipline. For who but he could have subdued so wild and fearful a people as the Thibetans. But, even in their wildness, they look cheerful and agreeable."

At last, Atisa reached Tholin, where he was cordially received by the king, who commanded his people to receive Atisa's teachings with profound reverence. During a subsequent residence of thirteen years, distributed over the several provinces of Thibet, Atisa devoted himself to the teaching of the Mahāyāna doctrine, and the propagation of pure Buddhism. He is said to have shewn the right way to the ignorant and misguided Lāmas of Thibet, who had all become Tantriks, and to have cleared Thibet Buddhism of its foreign and heretic elements. He also wrote during this time several works, the names of the following of which have been handed down:—

1. Bodipatha Pradipa ; 2. Charya Sangraha Pradipa ; 3. Satyadvayavatara ; 4. Madhyamopadesa ; 5. Sangraha Garbha ; 6. Hridaya Nischita ; 7. Bodhisattva Manyavali ; 8. Bodhisattva Karmadimargavatara ; 9. Saranagatadesa ; 10. Mahāyānapatha Sadhana varna Sangraha ; 11. Sutrārtha Samuchhayopadesa ; 12. Dasakusala Karmopadesa ; 13. Karma Vibhanga ; 14. Samādhi Sambhara Parivarta ; 15. Lokottara Saptaka Vidhi ; 16. Guru Kriya

Krama; 17. Chittotpada Samvara Vidhikrama; 18. Siksha Samuchhaya abhisamaya; 19. Vimala Ratna Lekhana.

Atisa died at Nethan near Lhasa, at the age of 73, in the year 1053 A.D. He was the spiritual guide and teacher of Bromtan, the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Thibet, who wrote his great master's biography in the year 1073.

The most important political event of Nāyapāla's reign was the war between him and Karna Kalacuri of Cedi, which took place at the beginning of the reign. This war is referred to in certain Cedi inscriptions, and also in a Thibetan Buddhist chronicle translated by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, which says that, about the time when Atisa accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramasila, at the request of Nāyapāla, Magadha was invaded, and Nāyapāla's armies were at first defeated, by Karna, who advanced close up to the capital of Gauḍa, but, eventually Nāyapāla was victorious, and a treaty of peace was made between the two powers, in the conclusion of which Atisa took an active part, about the year 1035 A. D., or some three years after Nāyapāla's accession.

In the Persian history entitled *Tarikhi Baihaki* by Abul Fazul, it is recorded that, in the year 1033 A.D., Nyaltagin, who was governor of Lahore, under Sultan Masud of Gazni, son of Māmud, made a raid on Benares. Babu Ramaprasād Chandra says that, at the time of this raid, Benares was included in the dominions of Nāyapāla. On the other hand, as I explained in my last paper, Babu Rakhāl Das Bannerji would hold that, in the time of Nāyapāla's predecessor, Mahipāla, Benares had passed into the possession of the Kalacuris of Cedi. However that may be—the point seems to me a doubtful one—the passage in the *Tarikhi Baihaki* says that Niyaltagin and the force with him, which seems to have been a small one, crossed the Ganges, and, proceeding along the left bank of the river, arrived at Benares early in the morning, and, having looted the three bazars in which cloth, perfumes, and jewellery, respectively, were sold, retired in the afternoon.

This was the first attack on Benares in the series of raids which marked the early stages of the gradual Mussulman conquest of Northern India.

Two temple inscriptions at Gaya are dated in the 15th year of Nāyapāla's reign, shewing that Gaya was included in Nāyapāla's kingdom, and that he reigned for at least 15 years. There are certain other points of interest in these inscriptions. One, which is engraved on a stone tablet in the wall of a temple known by the name of Krishnadvarika, built about 100 years ago by one Damodar Lal Dhokri, records the erection of a temple to Vishnu by a Brahmin named Visvāditya, the son of Sudraka and grandson of Paritosa. The other, found inside a small temple dedicated to Narasimha, an incarnation of Vishnu, records the erection of a temple to Gadadhara, an epithet of

the same deity, by Visvarupa, another son of the same Sudraka. It seems evident that the modern temples of Krishna Dvarika and Narasimha referred to have been constructed out of the materials of the two older temples of Vishnu, erected by Visvāditya and Visvarupa respectively. The family, to which these two men belonged was a leading one at Gaya in the time of Nāyapāla and his successor, Vigrapapāla III, as other inscriptions there show. One relates to the erection of two temples of Siva, under the names of Vatesa and Prapitamahesvara, by Visvāditya ; an inscription on an image of Gadadhara mentions Paritosa, Virisvāditya's grandfather ; and an inscription on the Sitala temple records the erection of a temple to various deities and the digging of a tank named Uttaramanasa by Visvāditya's son Yakshapāla, who is referred to as "Narendra," or a ruler of Men. He may have been a feudal chief of some kind.

I might mention that the Krishnadvārika inscription above referred to sets forth that it was composed by one Sahadeva, who was a *Vaji-Vaidya*, that is, a horse-doctor, or veterinary physician.

There is extant a medical work by one Chakrapani Dutt, who is stated therein to have been the nephew of Nāyapāla's head cook.

F. J. MONAHAN.

[*To be continued.*]

Obituary Notice.

IT is with the deepest regret that we have to announce the death of Mr. James H. Little, who died in the Presidency General Hospital on 9th October 1917. Whatever view may be held as to the value of Mr. Little's conclusions in regard to the Black Hole episode, no one can doubt that he had made a very minute and careful study of the evidence as it has been collected for us in the monumental works of Mr. S. C. Hill and the late Dr. C. R. Wilson. Quite apart from his conclusions, Mr. Little's criticism will prove of permanent value, and will facilitate the work of the future historian in dealing with discrepancies in the evidence. Unfortunately for Mr. Little his interest lay in a period of Indian history which requires to be studied in England rather than in Bengal, for the MS. records of that period are very scanty in this country. Mr. Little's literary ability was considerable and his power of marshalling his argument is conspicuous in all his articles. He has, we believe, left behind him a completed work detailing the history of the Seths—the family of bankers of Murshidabad. It is to be hoped that this work will be given to the public. Mr. Little was a comparatively young man at the time of his death, and his loss to us will be felt perhaps keenly by those of us who felt that his undoubted powers would in course of time find a truer scope, than could be afforded by an attempt to base history on discrepancies in evidence, assumed motives, and a dangerous recourse to the argument from silence. Mr. Little was moving on firm ground when he showed that Holwell is a writer whose statements require testing before they can be accepted as historical facts. It was, for instance, shown in *Bengal : Past & Present*, how completely Holwell was mistaken when as Governor, he charged Mir Jafar with the murder of certain members of the family of Ali Verdi Khan—some of the persons alleged to be murdered turning up to greet Lord Clive on his return to Bengal in 1765! It is well that we have been made to go over again the history of the period, and in this respect we are grateful to Mr. Little : but those who favour Mr. Little's contentions about the Black Hole will not be grateful to him for his further attempt to prove that there was no monument erected by Holwell on the famous site outside the Eastern Gate of the Fort. That extraordinary endeavour, which compelled its author to invent the wildly impossible theory of a nineteenth century forger copying spurious deeds into bound volumes at places miraculously provided for them is an example of

that nemesis which must overtake those who allow their imagination to construct the evidence. Bengal has been almost scandalously indifferent to the interest and importance of its history, and we are therefore grateful to Mr. Little for all that he has done to excite an interest in the great and essential study of the past. Had he enjoyed wider opportunities for research, and of consultation with fellow students, it may be believed that he, with his very considerable gifts, would have abandoned the kind of *tour de force* which has proved so seductive to literary men when they select history as the form for their labours.

W. K. FIRMINGER.

Members' Note Book.

Mr. J. J. Cotton, I. C. S., kindly sends us the following :—

LANDOR'S ELEGY.

Ah, what avails the sceptred race,
Ah, what the form divine ?
What every virtue, every grace
Rose Aylmer, all were thine ?
Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
May weep but never see,
A night of memories and of right,
I consecrate to thee.

Idem Latine.

A quid sceptrigero clarum genus ordine regum,
quid prodest Paphiae proxima forma deae ?
Quo tot virtutes, quo tot praestare lepores,
Almula cuncta aderant, ne morerere, tibi.
Almula quot nobis nox pervigilata reducit
non iterum O lacrimis saepe negata meis.
At tibi donetur quam per suspiria duco
Nox desideriiis plena memorque tui,
H. C. F. Mason.
(In the *Florilegium Latinum*, Vol. I, No. CLXXIV.)

No. 200 Docket.

Dated 7th March 1795.

Mr. James Augustus Hicky to the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. General Release. Jackson : Attorney to the Hon'ble Company.

To all to whom these Presents shall come James Augustus Hicky of Calcutta at Fort William in the Province of Bengal in the East Indies Printer sendeth greeting Whereas the said James Augustus Hicky did on or about the day of July which was in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three tender and deliver into the Governor General in Council of Fort William aforesaid acting for and on the

behalf of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies at their Presidency of Fort William aforesaid a statement and account of certain claims and demands for divers sums of money stated to be due to him the said James Augustus Hicky from the said United Company for Printing and publishing certain Orders and regulations for the Government of the Army of the said United Company on their Bengal establishment and whereas the said Governor General in Council acting as aforesaid did on the Twenty-Sixth day of the said month of July tender and offer to the said James Augustus Hicky the sum of sicca Rupees Six Thousand Seven hundred and Eleven of lawful money of Bengal aforesaid as and for a full satisfaction and discharge of and for all and every sums of money claims and demands whatsoever due and owing to the said James Augustus Hicky from the said United Company which said sum of Sicca Rupees Six thousand Seven hundred and Eleven the said James Augustus Hicky hath accordingly agreed to accept and hath accepted in full satisfaction and discharge as aforesaid. Now these Presents witness that for and in consideration of the said sum of Sicca Rupees Six thousand Seven hundred and Eleven of lawful money of Bengal aforesaid to him the said James Augustus Hicky in hand well and truly paid by the said United Company at or before the sealing and delivery of these Presents in full satisfaction and discharge of and for all and every sum and sums of money claims and demands whatsoever due and owing to the said James Augustus Hicky from the said United Company (the receipt whereof he the said James Augustus Hicky doth hereby acknowledge and thereof and therefrom and of and from every Part and parcel thereof doth hereby acquit Release and for ever discharge the said United Company their Successors and Assigns). He the said James Augustus Hicky Hath remised, released, acquitted and discharged and by these Presents Doth for himself his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns fully and absolutely Remise Release Acquit and Discharge the said United Company their Successors and Assigns of and from All and all manner of action and actions Cause and causes of Action Suits Bills Bonds Writings Obligatory Notes Accounts reckonings Sum and Sums of Money Debts dues specialties Covenants Contracts Controversies variances Agreements Promises Damages Judgments extents Executions Claims and Demands whatsoever both in Law and Equity which he the said James Augustus Hicky ever had now hath or which he his heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns shall or may or can have or claim against them the said United Company their Successors or Assigns for or by reason or means of any matter or thing whatsoever touching or concerning or in any wise relating to the Printing and Publishing the said Orders and Regulations and on every other Account whatsoever from the beginning of the World to the day of the date of these Presents. In Witness whereof the

said James Augustus Hicky hath hereunto set his Hand and Seal this Seventh day of March in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain in France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand Seven hundred and Ninety-five.

Sealed and Delivered at Calcutta
aforesaid where no stamps are used
or can be had. In the Presence of

W. M. JACKSON.
JOHN BULLEY.

JAMES A. HICKY.

With reference to the Editor's remarks (Vol. XIV, p. 299) in regard to "an outhouse" in the Collector's compound at Alipur which is said to "have a somewhat ecclesiastical appearance," Col. Mulvany writes:—

Avoca, Alipore, 28th February 1918.

My dear Archdeacon,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd instant. I could not find the note you speak of, though I remember having read it. I rather hoped that you would give me the reference. What you say, however, recalls it to my mind. I haven't sufficient data for an article. But the following two facts may help to clear away any mystery that may cling to the building. Up till 1864 all European and Eurasian prisoners convicted outside of Calcutta were sent to the (old) Alipore Jail. Transfers to and from the Great Goal were practically impossible. A chaplain was appointed to minister to these people. A churchy looking building dates from those times, though it is indeed without the walls. The inference to my mind is clear. The building is the church erected by Government for the Christian prisoners, presumably for C. of E. prisoners only, for I can find no reference to any R. C. priest having been appointed. With regard to the Old Presidency Jail I have several references.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN MULVANY.

Members of the Calcutta Historical Society will be glad to hear that a third Volume of the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson has been recently published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Esplanade East, Calcutta. At the time of Dr. Wilson's death in July, 1904, the whole body of work had been printed off with the exception of the

Introduction and Indices. For over thirteen years the printed sheets have been lying in storage at the office of the Imperial Record Department. During this long period a few of the sheets have become slightly discoloured, but students who are familiar with the great value of Dr. Wilson's work will gladly overlook this slight disadvantage. The indices supplied for the present volume are far fuller and more convenient than those of the early volumes, and some interesting illustrations have been added. Archdeacon Firminger has contributed an Introduction. The period covered by the present volume is from 1718-22, when Samuel Feake was Governor of Bengal. It has only been possible to place about 350 copies on sale, so intending purchasers should send their orders as soon as possible to Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. The price of the volume is Rs. 10.

Materials for a History of the Great Trunk Road—I.

NO. I.

*Remark on the new Road leading from Calcutta to Chunargur by Rogonautpoor, Sheergotty, &c., &c.**

FROM Calcutta to Bissenpoor is the most generally cultivated and populous countries I have seen in Indostan produce rice and some sugar, and at the season troops march by this route, which will not be before the first of December but in cases of great emergency, no injury will be done to the riots as all grain will be gathered in and if the Officer Commanding is attentive to prevent irregularities of the camp-followers, no well-founded plea can be brought for a deduction of revenue on account of troops marching through the province.

From Bissenpoor to Rogonautpoor the harvest is gather'd in before troops can march through that part of the route, country far less populous and cultivated as to Bissenpoor. On the march from Calcutta to Rogonautpoor, in the Month of February, no want of water, wood, or straw. The villagers have none or few wells. They depend on their tanks for water.

The road from Calcutta to the Demooda River is in many places broken up by the rains, particularly between Doorhatta and the Demooda—the person who agrees to keep it in repair should be oblig'd to begin this duty as soon as the rains are over, and I think it may, with little trouble and expence be put in orders as troops and artillery may march without interruption.

From the Demooda to Rogonautpoor the road is in good order. The only rivers between Calcutta and Rogonautpoor are the Demooda and Dalkisar both of which are fordable in the month of February, bottoms a firm sand—Rogonautpoor a large village where supplies or provisions may be had.

From Rogonautpoor to Shurgotty the country is mountainous covered much with wood, little cultivation, and few villages adjacent to the route; and on this division of the march, forage for cattle will not be found in great store; grain and other necessary articles of provision the Officer



in Command must not neglect to provide at Nazzarree and Angwally; this he may accomplish by writing to the Collector of Ramgur for the supplies he may require at Nazzarree, and to the Officer in Command at Jilda for the supplies he may want at Gomeea, or at the next stage Angwally. If care is taken and encouragement held out to the people of the bazars now establishing on this division of the route, little inconvenience will be felt, the country is in appearance shrill and thinly peopled but it produces grain beyond its internal consumption; and through this division of the route the Detachment experienced no want of wood or water at the several places on which it encam'd.

The road from Rogonautpoor to Shurgotty firm and in good order, the soil is of a strong quality mixed with a finty stone which renders it so durable that the rains make little impression on it; but in such places as are intersected with nellas and rivulets, which in this part of the route are numerous; and there annual repairs will be necessary.

I see few impèdiments to Artillery marching by this route such as they are the drag-rope will in my opinion overcome.

When divisions of the Army are marching towards Calcutta, it is necessary to observe that from the Dumna Nella to Cony Chitty, will be a fatiguing march on account of the ascent of the Shurgotty Pass, and it should be recommended to all officers marching by this route to suffer as few hackeries as possible to proceed with him.

From Rogonautpoor to Sheergotty is twelve marching days at Nazzarree by Mr. Cumming's attention to a letter I wrote to him on the head of supplies, much more than necessary was collected there. Major Crawford also on a similar application had sent grain to the new Gunges more than equal to the wants of the Detachment. If public advantage be derived from troops marching by this route I cannot discover a reason why the plan should not be adopted, the strength of detachment should not exceed three Regiments, if a Brigade is moving down it may through this part of the route separate into two or three divisions.

From Shurgotty to Chunar the route is through a fertile country when troops will be supplied with everything they may require, it will therefore be unnecessary to add to what has been specified in the Journal.

I am persuaded many objections will be urged against troops frequenting this route; founded on the plea of inconvenience; that troops will be harass'd by marching through a country for 12 days when forage is with difficulty procured; the officers too will be depriv'd of having recourse to their boats. These are objections; opposed to which, difference of distance claims attention, this, and injury done to the country by marching large detachments through the most fertile provinces; an object that may deserve the attention of Government.

It is not my province to decide, but presuming the motives that led to the execution of this plan, originated in views which had for their object the facilitating the movements of the troops from the remote stations to the Presidency in times of danger ; as well as to expedite the customary reliefs of the Army, I have, with the utmost care attempted to describe the state of the road and the situation of the country as accurately as circumstances would admit.

No. II.

A Journal of the march of a Detachment from Calcutta to Chunargur by the route of the new road with remarks thereon.

Date.	Distance. M. F.	Names of Places.	Rivers, Gauts, &c.	REMARKS.
	9 3	To Chendetoly		First march from Sulky Gaut, opposite to Calcutta, road in many places carried away by the rains but with little trouble it may be repaired so as to remove all impediments..... at Chunditoly water in Tanks... and ground for encampment.
	15 1	To Doorkatta	Dead Nella cross'd twice, fords, knee deep.	Road has in some places been destroyed by the rains, may be repaired with little trouble—Doorkatta is a large village, good encamping ground and water.
1785 Feby. 9 th	14 4	To Myapoor	Across the Demooda high banks, ford, knee deep. In rains Demooda is 4 or 500 yards across between the Demooda and Myapoor, two small nella s, fords.	From Doorkatta to the Demooda the road has been much destroyed by the rains and in a bad state for wheel carriages ; and it appears that this part of it will be carried away, by the overflowing of the Demooda, yearly. Therefore an early attention must be paid to this part of the road every season, as soon as the rains are over.
1785 Feby. 10 th	16 0	To Katool	Across a small nella, ford—across the Dalkisar high banks ford, knee deep in rains 200 yards across.	Road good on this day March, across the Dalkisar at Jehanabad at Katool extensive plain for the encampment and water in tanks.
Feby. 11 th Feby. 12 th	14 6	To Badgchaul		Halted for supplies from Burdwan. Road good ; the country tho' full of villages and in high cultivation is inclinable to be woody and at Badgchaul a Brigade would not find ground to encamp regularly on—water in tanks.
Feby. 13 th				A heavy fall of rain oblig'd the Detachment to halt this day.
Feby. 14 th		To one coss west from Bissenpoor.		This Day we first deviated from Capt. Rankin's route with respect to distance, and encamp'd one coss west from Bissenpoor, where there is a plain spacious enough to hold a Brigade and excellent water in

Date.	Distance. M. F.	Names of places.	Rivers Gauts, &c.	REMARKS.
Feb'y. 15th 1785				a large jeel; from the last encampment to this, the Country is an entire forest. Bissenpoor is an extensive village, and it may be proper for troops to carry supplies from hence to Rogonautpoor, as an Officer cannot certainly depend on securing grain, &c., between these two places. Road good.
Feb'y. 16th		To two coss east of Ragehaut, name of the village near the encampment is called Kenklossa.	Dry nellas in this day's march.	Halted for supplies. Two coss west of Bissenpoor forest ends at Aunda, vide, Rennel's Map; and at Aunda, is encamping ground for a Brigade, water in tanks—country full of villages and highly cultivated—good encamping ground. Water in tanks at two Coss east of Ragehaut Road in perfect order.
		To Chatna ...	Across the Dalkisar, no water, western bank steep. Water may be procured by digging wells of a foot deep in its bed.	To a coss west of the Dalkisar, there is clear ground extensive enough for a Brigade to encamp on and in Feby no want of water in tanks, from thence to Chatna the country is inclinable to be hilly covered with low coppice trees. Chatna is a cluster of villages and the residence of the Zemindar of the District. To the southward of the village a large jheel which has water in it all the year. At Chatna good encamping ground and cover for Europeans in a Mango tope. Road in good order.
		To Rampoor ...	a coss from Chatna cross'd the bed of a nella, dry.	The country through which we march'd this day is hilly and covered with wood; few villages and thinly cultivated at Rampoor good encamping ground, water in jheels throughout the year. Road in perfect order.
Feb'y. 19th	...	To Rogonautpoor.	...	This place is the capital of the province of Pacheat and is a large village from which may be procured grain and other articles of provision for a Detachment, good encamping ground and water; and cover in mango topes for a Regiment of Europeans. Firm good Road.
20th, 21st & 22nd	Halted to procure supplies.
23rd	...	To Doobra ...	...	On the route from Rogonautpoor to Doobra, at the village of Mungaum there is encamping ground and water in a large

Home Department Public Consultation, 27th May (1785), D.



Date.	Distances. M. F.	Names of places.	Nellas, Gauts, &c.	REMARKS.
24th	...	...	To Chundera... Across the Dumgon nella.	<p>jheel. Mahooda is also a convenient place for encamping at Doobra is a small village, water in tanks and country jungly, road firm and in perfect repair.</p> <p>On this day's march passed Chundenkura where there is good encamping ground and water; from Doobra to Chundra the country is covered with wood but is not a close jungle, the Mowa Tree grows in such abundance that it may be called a forest. From the berries of this tree is produced a strong and intoxicating spirit. At Chundera is extensive ground for an encampment and water in jheels.</p>
		To Dumna nella		<p>As there was no appearance of water in the Dumna nella Bildars were sent on and dug some pits in the sand by which means excellent water was procured; 40 Bildars sent on a day before the troops would procure water for a Brigade.— This day we descended to the plains of Behar through the gaut of Shurgotty, it commences about five miles from Conychitty, it is steep and compact of it rugged from the uneven surface of the rocks, by computation the length of the pass is between 4 and 5 Miles, and with regard to any Obstacles Artillery may meet with either in the descent or ascent will be removed by the assistance of the Dragrope. Hackeries loaded with soldier's baggage and the contractor's with Arrack came into camp in good time, tho' their bullocks were such as would be rejected as unfit for the public Service, these Hackeries have accompanied the Detachment from Calcutta.</p>
		To Shurgotty Town	<p>Across the Nilagin nella bed dry.</p> <p>Across the two branches of the nella which runs by Shurgotty Town both dry.</p>	<p>Route through a woody country to within 2 or 3 miles of Shurgotty there the lands are extremely well cultivated. The Detachment encamp'd on the northern bank in an open cultivated country. water expeditiously procured by digging pits in the bed of the river, Shurgotty is a large cluster of villages where supplies may be had.</p>
1785 March 9th	15 0	To Madinpoor small Bazar		<p>Road in good order and through a well cultivated country fit ground for an encampment, water in wells and in tanks, also good shade in a mango tope for a Regiment of Europeans.</p>

Date.	Distances. M. F.	Name of places.	Nellas, Gauts, &c.	REMARKS.
10th	14 3	To Nurrunga	Nella	On this day's march road in perfect order. Country high open and thinly cultivated. Nurrunga is a large town where supplies of provisions may be had.—Three or four miles from Madinpoor is dudfee a village adjacent to which there is Shade in mango topes for a Regiment of Europeans. Water in a nella. At Nurrangy spacious places to encamp on.
11th				Halted.
12th		To Serris	Crossd the Ponpon nella.	Serris is a cluster of villages : shade in mango topes and water in the Ponpon nella, road in good order, country highly cultivated.
		To Northern banks of the Soan River.	Across the river ford & ferry.	The bed of the Soan is near two miles across with deep sand, the water at this season to the waistband and two hundred yards across through the stream a road must be traced out on account of the great number of quicksands to prevent accidents to the carriage cattle, the baggage and buzar to be cross'd in boats. Encampment near the River.
		To Sasseram.	...	Route in good order, encamping ground to the northward of Sasseram, water in tanks.—This is a large and populous Town—Country well-cultivated.
15th	...	...	...	Halted.
16th	16 3	To Jehaunabad	Cross 2 Nellas ...	A Buzar, encamping ground good, water in wells, that of the nella brackish.
17th	14 2	To Mohuneea	...	A mango tope that will shelter a Regiment of Europeans, water in wells. Country populous and highly cultivated.
		To Carumnassa nella.	Across a nella. Across the Carumnassa.	Route good and country well cultivated: encampment northern Banks of the Carumnassa.
		To Mogulseray	...	Road good, country populous and highly cultivated, water in wells and cover in a mango tope for a Brigade.
		To Chuta Mirzapoor.	...	Cover at this place for a Regiment in mango topes, water in wells. encampment near the banks of the Ganges.
		To Chunargur.	...	Route in good order encamping ground on the Mirzapoor side of the Chunar Nella near a large Mosk.

N. B.—The distances are not inserted in those marches that deviated from the Route given by Captain Rankin as they could

Date	Distances. M. F.	Names of places.	Rivers, Gauts, &c.	REMARKS.
				only be estimated; but as an actual survey has been taken of the road, by a reference made to it the real distances of those marches may be ascertained, as the names of the encampments are mentioned.
25th		To Herrula		The road in perfect order, country, similar to that of yesterday—here is good encamping ground and a large jheel of water near.
26th	15 3	To Joogeko	Nellas whose banks are steep, dry.	Joogeko is about a mile west of Angwally, the latter is a Gunge established by the Government for the accommodation of travellers.—On the commencement of this day's march the country has a very perceptible and regular ascent, covered with coppice wood.—No villages between Herrula and Angwally, the Route is intersected with nellas, dry at this season, the banks of some of them, so steep that was artillery to march by this route it would be necessary to employ the Dragrope, to check them in their descent, and to assist in dragging them up the opposite bank. Encampment confined, but water in a nella & tanks.
	10 6	To Gomeah	Across the Demooda ford. Dry nellas and Ravins.	Gomeah is a bazar established by Government the route to this place is intersected with places in some of which there is water, the banks are considerably steep, also across the Demooda its bed 300 yards wide, banks not very steep. At this season not more than half-leg water, and the stream narrow, on the northern bank of this river grows large quantities of the saul tree but of small growth.—After across the river ascend an easy gaut, and the country may be describ'd as hilly, some villages to be seen on the right and left of the route but far from being numerous. At Gomeah plenty of water and ground spacious enough for 2 Regiments to encamp regularly on.
28th	16 7	To Chittroo	Nellas & ravins, dry.	The road the first part of the march is through thick woods chiefly of the saul tree, the site of the country is hilly many ascents and descents where Artillery would require the Dragrope, but do not deserve the name of obstacles to prevent Artillery marching by this route

Date.	Distance. M. F.	Name of places.	Nellas, Gauts, &c.	REMARKS.
				A nella near Chittroo which has a small stream in it. Chitroo is a Gunge establish'd by Government by it is a tope of Mangoes that will shelter a Regiment of Europeans. Water in tanks and some villages in the neighbourhood—near Chitroo rocks of jungglass-Stone appeared on the surface of the road.
March 1st	13 6	To Deigwar	Nellas, and ravins, dry.	Half way of this day's route has a very perceptible ascent and the country is covered with coppice wood, latter part is more free from wood than any other part of the route since we left the province of Burdwan, Deegwar is on a high and commanding situation. On the route few villages and a sterile country. This a small Buzar established by Government consisting of a few Ducans. water in tanks.
March 2nd	12 5	To Hazzarree.	...	The country through which the route leads to-day is high and free from jungle generally cultivated and contains a number of populous villages. Hazzarree is a small village, has a jheel of water and a mango tope spacious enough to encamp in two regiments of Europeans it is distant 6 miles from Etchawk the residence of the Raja of Ramgur from whence all necessary supplies may be had.
	12 6	To Kutcum-sandy.	Pass nella	Halted. ... First six miles of the route country perfectly level, then commences a pass whose descent is considerably steep, Artillery require the Dragrope, length of pass between 2 and 300 yards. On this day's march few villages and little cultivation, except the descent and that is not difficult the Route is in good order. At Kutcumsandy is a good Buzar, water in a nella but the country people report it to be bad.
March 5th	18 1	To Conychitty.	Nellas, dry	... On the route 3 or 4 miles from Cutcumsandy is a nella with a small stream in it water better than at the last ground, this day's march is much interested by nellas, in none of which is there water but in that already remarked country covered with wood, some of the banks of the Nellas steep. There does not appear to be any water near the

Date.	Distance. M. F.	Names of places.	Nellas, Gauts, &c.	REMARKS.
				Route, from Cutcumsandy to Conychitty, but in the nellas above mentioned. Conychitty is a cluster of villages from whence supplies may be procured, good encamping ground and a Tope that will shelter a Regiment of Europeans, Water in a nella very good.
6th	Halted.
7th	...	To Dumna nella.	Descended the Shur- gotty Pass.	Encamped on the banks of the Dumna nella. The Country is woody and will not admit of the camp being regular but as encamping here divides the two marches from Conychetty to Sheergotty nearly in equal distance it should be preferred, especially if troops were marching towards Calcutta and encamped on the Nilagiri, they would have a march of near twenty miles to Conychitty and five of it, up a steep Gaut.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

Materials for a History of Calcutta Streets and Houses—III.

HONOURABLE SIR, & SIRS,

THE late Sr. Eyre Coote being requested to give up the house he lived in, on his first arrival in India, that it might be appropriated to the use of the Supreme Court of Judicature ; publicly, and without any solicitation from me, declared his intentions, as Commander-in-Chief, of taking mine, as soon as it could be finished ; and on its completion, in consequence of the General's desire ; the late Mr. Wheler, at that time, Acting Governor, on the promise of a lease, as had been granted on a former occasion ; engaged it for the Commander-in-Chief, and his family took possession of it accordingly ; the bills for rent, received by me, were regularly signed by Mr. Wheler, as Comptroller of Accounts ; and I do pledge myself to your Hon'ble Board, and if it should be thought necessary, will declare on oath, that so far from the house, being engaged at any instance of mine, I took some steps, to obtain a relinquishment of it, from Sr. Eyre Coote, but was advised to desist.

These measures I have every reason to believe, deprived me of a more advantageous engagement, than that I agreed to for the accommodation of the Commander-in-Chief ; but it being evidently the wish and intention of Government for the foregoing reason, that a house should be provided for the General, best suited to his family, rank and convenience, and as mine was, *as evidently*, built, solely with a view, to the use of Government ; so relying on, and in confidence of that idea, I have hitherto delayed applying for the execution of a lease.

But as a successor to Sr. Eyre Coote is soon expected, and agreeable to the usage on like public occasions, so I now beg leave to request of your Hon'ble Board, a lease for the term, of five, or three years, at the accustomed rent of two thousand sicca rupees per month, including taxes, repairs, &c., which as the ground, house, and premisses cost me, 1,50,000 sicca rupees after deducting, tax, at 6 and $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. 1,500 rupees and the annual repairs, at 1,500 more, the net rent amounts only to 1,750 rupees per month which is but 16 per cent. per annum, for the sum expended ; and I submit it with deference to your Hon'ble Board, as a circumstance universally known, and admitted, that 20 per cent., is the interest, usually paid, and expected on buildings in this country, as an indemnity against, certain, constant, and casual deductions, to which property of this nature, is so peculiarly liable.

Wishing to have every information respecting the mode of ascertaining the profit on houses and buildings in this country, I wrote to a gentleman, more conversant on such property, than any others, in the place ; and take the liberty of laying their answers before your Hon'ble Board.

I remain,
Honourable Sir & Sirs,
With great Respect,
Your most obednt. servt.,
WILLIAM JOHNSON.*

CALCUTTA,
Dated 8th January 1785. }

Calcutta, 14th November 1785.

HON'BLE SIR, & GENTLEMEN,

Having a desire of returning to England as soon as my affairs in this country will admit of it, I beg leave to make a proposal to your Hon'ble Board—the terms of which I flatter myself will meet your attention.

The Hon'ble Court of Directors having thought proper to allow the sum of eight thousand sicca rupees, as rent for the Commander-in-Chief's house ; I take the liberty of offering the sale of mine, at present occupied by Government for that purpose ; at the price of 90,000 sicca rupees. It is unnecessary to make any remarks respecting the suitableness of the house, or the superior goodness of the materials with which it is built ; they are circumstances generally known, and fully acknowledged, and as I understand, that the only objection Government ever made to the purchase, or keeping possession of buildings on account of the Hon'ble Company, has been the expence attending the keeping them in repair. I beg leave further to propose to your Hon'ble Board to keep the whole of the premisses in proper and complete repair, for the term of 5 or 7 years to commence from the first day of January next for the monthly sum of S. Rs. 66-10-8 whereby the above objection will be obviated, and at the same time, the Commander-in-Chief will be accommodated in that house, which your Hon'ble Board have thought adequate to his high station, for the sum allowed by the Hon'ble Company,—the interest of 90,000 S. Rs. the proposed purchased money at 8 per cent. per annum being Sicca Rs. 7,200, and S. Rs. 66, 10. 8 per month, (the repairs amounting to 800 S. Rs. per annum) making together 8,000 S. Rs. per annum the *limits of the Company's Orders*. Your Hon'ble Board must perceive that I can have no other inducement for offering it on such terms—but that already mentioned,—a desire of settling my affairs, and of returning to England as soon as possible. The House at present occupied by the Governor General, is rented I understand at 1,500 Rs. per month, or 18,000

* Home Department Public Consultation, 26th January 1785, No. 7.

the year ; while that recommended to your Hon'ble Board at the rate of 8,000 S. Rs. per annum, is at least equally calculated either for the use of the Governor General, or Commander-in-Chief.

Should the plan of purchasing for the Commander-in-Chief be incompatible with the intention of your Hon'ble Board, I beg leave to offer it for the more effectual carrying into execution, one which I understand your Hon'ble Board mean to adopt ; that of uniting and assembling as many of the public offices upon one spot, as conveniently may be ; nothing intervening between it, and the Government House, and its great vicinity (not twenty yards) leave this plan, liable to no inconveniency, under the arrangement alluded to ; while it affords apartments equally commodious, if not as numerous, as those contained in the Government House itself ; with a verandah on the ground floor, 80 feet long, and most of the other rooms on that floor extremely well calculated for the writers of public offices for which also the outer offices belonging to the premisses might be easily appropriated ; all which I am ready to let should your Hon'ble Board decline such a purchase, at a fair and equitable rent, which shall be fixed by your Hon'ble Board, or by any person you shall think proper to appoint although I beg leave to observe to your Hon'ble Board, that my object of leaving this country, will not be obtained by letting the house, I hope you will permit me to say, and I am sure your candor will allow, that the rent should bear some proportion to the real value of the house, and that which others, so situated, are rented at.

I have the Honour to remain,

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Your very obedient servt.,

(Signed) WILLIAM JOHNSON.*

HON'BLE SIR & GENTLEMEN,

Your Secretary having informed me of the Resolution of your Hon'ble Board respecting the terms of purchasing my house ; I beg leave to signify my acceptance thereof ; and from my anxious desire of returning to England this season, if possible, I request you will please to issue orders to your Attorney for concluding with me the necessary deeds, and to direct your Secretary to issue the Treasury Orders in my name.

I have the Honour to remain,

Most respectfully

Your very obedient Sir,

(Signed) WILLIAM JOHNSON.†

CALCUTTA, }
Dated 8th December 1785.

* Home Department Public Consultation, 15th November 1785, No. 10.

† Home Department Public Consultation, 19th December 1785, No. 23.

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.

OWING to the circumstances created by the War, the finances of the Society are not in a prosperous condition. A large number of absent members have failed to send in their subscriptions, and the places of those who have either died or resigned have not been filled by new members. It has, therefore, been necessary to reduce the size of *Bengal : Past & Present*. It is to be hoped that those who are interested in the history, to which *Bengal : Past & Present*, contributed materials, will come to the support of the undertaking. It can hardly be creditable to the Second City in the Empire that such an endeavour should be allowed to fail or languish, or that so great a province as Bengal should prove its lack of interest in its past.* The comparatively small sum of Rs. 2,000 would suffice to enable the Executive Committee to restore *Bengal : Past & Present* to something like its former magnificence in amount of materials and illustrations.

Attention has recently been called to a number of Christian graves that exist in a private estate at Katwa. There is a tradition that one of these graves contain the remains of soldiers who were killed or died during Clive's march to Plassey. I am informed by a Bengali gentleman that there are three European graves with inscriptions, *viz.*:—

1. Andrew Walker, Asst. Surgeon of the Bengal Army, 13th November, 1844.
2. Rev.—Carey D. D. Born 22nd July, 1787 A. D. died on 3rd February 1853 A. D. Served as a Missionary for 41 years.
3. John King Roger, died 5th October, 1845.

The Rev. William Carey was the second son of the famous Dr. William Carey of Serampur. It is reported that on the south side of Andrew Walker's tomb there was a tomb on which an inscription, now lost, recording that some fifty soldiers were buried beneath.

The Fort at Katwa is described in 1757 as "about half a mile in circumference, made of earth with eight round towers, situated on the bank of the Cossimbazar river, which covers the east face, with a large creek that covers

the south face, which we were obliged to cross and found it very deep and rapid: this face with the other two are surrounded by a deep dry ditch having a narrow passage to walk over without a drawbridge."

The future historian of Hughli ought not to lose sight of the following passages in Philip Francis' Journal.

[1779] November 6th. At Hughley. A great fire last night at the Old Fort, by which an immense quantity of raw silk and piece goods has been destroyed.

Hastings makes a report of the last fire and its effects. By a computation, with which Davies has furnished him, it appears that the Company's property lodged in the Godowns amounted to—

Company's Rupees	...	...	22,44,608	11	0
Saved	...	...	2,45,706	13	0

19,98,901 14 0

November 8th. H. swears with great apparent passion, and in terms which plainly imply suspicion of foul play, that there never was an instance of a fire in a Godown since the time of Job Channock (*sic*). Piece goods, cotton, and raw silk packed close in bales are not easily set on fire, nor could it possibly have spread, if there had not been an immense quantity of red wood piled up in the Old Fort, as it were on purpose to burn the Godowns. At night to Hughley."

The following extract from a General Letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors contains some interesting matter :—

* * * * *

Para. 34. At the last quarter sessions no less than nine persons receiv'd sentence of death for different felonies, six have been executed, the other three we request of your honors to recommend to His Majesty for pardon. One a slave girl named Catty about thirteen years old, who privately stole some jewells out of her master's house in company with another aged above twenty, who has been executed, and two men named Chumero and Sabdee, who were convicted of an assault and robbery in the street in company with a third who being esteem'd most guilty has been executed. The last mention'd were particularly recommended to the mercy of the court by the Petit Jury, and if it be possible it is much to be wished that a discretionary power could be lodged in the Judges of the Sessions to grant pardons in such cases, or at

least to mitigate the rigor of their confinement, for at present the Sheriff is obliged by his office to keep the poor wretches in condemned hole until an answer comes from England.

35. The late Omichund having left considerable part of his fortune to be laid out in charities in all parts of the world, his Executor Huzzooramul has requested us to remit by this conveyance the sum of fifteen hundred current rupees or pounds sterling one hundred and seventy-five to the Governors of the Magdalen House and the like sum to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital for the uses of those charities respectively and further that we would receive into your cash the sum of thirty-seven thousand five hundred current rupees there to remain for ever and the interest to be remitted annually to the beforementioned charities.

* * * * *

Fort William,
8th April, 1762. }

We are, etc.,

P. AMYATT.

W. HAY.

W. K. FIRMINER.

